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*Fig. 1. REMBRANDT, The Reading (drawing)
Bayonne, Museum*



*Fig. 2. REMBRANDT, A Dutch Interior
Dublin, National Gallery*

*Fig. 8
Van Aalst Study Hall
5.5.194
13.11.13*

AN EARLY GROUP PORTRAIT DRAWING BY REMBRANDT

By O. BENESCH

EDITOR'S NOTE. If the Rembrandt drawing from the Bonnat collection mentioned in Dr. Benesch's illuminating article has not been published as yet in Rembrandt's *Handzeichnungen*, *Klassiker der Kunst*, it is for the sole reason that it was to be reproduced in the third volume with other genre drawings of difficult interpretation. I quite agree with the author that it is a fascinating original from Rembrandt's hand. But I would date it somewhat later, about 1636, when we find several compositions of the same technique with similar shadowy foreground figures (compare *Christ Carrying the Cross*, in the Berlin printroom, and footnote *Klassiker der Kunst*, Vol. II, No. 481).

In connection with the candle-light scene from the Van Aalst collection reproduced by Dr. Benesch, another hitherto unpublished painting belonging to the same series is here reproduced for the first time (Fig. 8). The painting turned up recently on the English art market and has been acquired by the collector who owns the companionpiece.

W. R. V.

AMONG the Rembrandt drawings of the Bonnat Bequest in the Museum of Bayonne is one very impressive sheet representing a group of persons seated around a table by candle-light (Fig. 1). This drawing has been reproduced in Lippmann's corpus on plate 151 of the first series and quoted in Hofstede de Groot's critical catalogue as No. 682. In spite of its quality, it has received little consideration. It has not been reproduced in any one of the numerous selections of Rembrandt drawings nor included by Valentiner in the "Genreszenen" part of his valuable volumes of the *Klassiker der Kunst*. The reason for its neglect seems to be doubt about the authenticity of this unusual drawing.

In any case, this drawing is an excellent specimen of the Caravaggiesque light effect which was so appreciated by a certain section of Dutch painting in the earlier 17th century. It is one of the most brilliant examples, too. The draughtsman used the brush almost exclusively in making this sketch. There are only a few sharp traces, in the face and the left hand of the seated woman at the left, which could have been done with a pen. But it is possible that they too were done with a skillfully handled brush pointed in liquid bistre, the same tool used elsewhere in such a rhapsodic manner to build up heavy masses of shadows and bright surfaces of light.

The composition consists of three figures, the one at the right covering the source of light and appearing only as a dark silhouette. It is used as a screen. The stream of light floods the woman at the left, who seems to be protecting her eyes from the glare. The young man on the other side of the table between these two figures is also within the circle of light, but his slightly turned face is obscured by half-shadows which nevertheless contain light. The contrasts of dark and light in this figure are not so striking; it seems to be more enveloped in the glare of the unseen light which is expressed only by the touched surface of the paper. The two latter figures sit against a wall on which they cast blotches of shadow. But these shadows are not so intensive as those which model the figures in the foreground; they float in reflections of the omnipresent light. In this way the idea of a hard and firm limit of space is avoided and the group seems as though sheltered in a globe of light within the floating indefiniteness of shadowy space.

I think the chief reason for the omission of this effective drawing from among Rembrandt's works is the difficulty of dating it. Its masterly handling leads one to attribute it to a somewhat later date in Rembrandt's artistic development, although not before the earlier years of his residence in Amsterdam. But there arises the difficulty of placing it plausibly in the chronological order of his works. Everywhere it presents contradictions. Rembrandt shows in his career as a draughtsman an orderly development, not only of artistic ideas but of means of artistic representation and realization. And in the clear sequence of his efforts as a draughtsman from 1632 onward there seems to be no place for this primitive outburst of visionary realism. No wonder that doubts are the consequence of such reflections.

We must, however, raise the question whether it might not be possible to avoid these difficulties by another dating of the drawing. If it is not the product of a highly developed and organized style of drawing such as Rembrandt shows already in his first years at Amsterdam, may it be the result of a youthful genius's moment of inspiration?

The designer has obviously been captivated by a fascinating impression drawn from real life: this group of persons in ghostly, flaring light, concentrating on the same feeling, the same circle of thoughts. He threw his sketch on the paper with hurrying brush strokes without deliberate, reflective application of artistic means. In addition to the hasty tech-

nique the subject also has a bearing upon the date. The drawing has in most cases been wrongly described. In the Lippmann corpus it is called *Group of Chess Players*; in Hofstede de Groot's catalogue *The Adoration of the Shepherds*. Only the photographer Giraudon in entitling a negative called it correctly *The Reading (La Leçon)*. There is no doubt about it; the shadowlike person at the right holds an open book in her hands and is reading while the others are listening. The woman at the left follows the reading deep in thought, half closing her eyes, secluding herself from the outer world and concentrating on the meaning of the sentences. The young man is not so deeply absorbed in his thoughts. He is not only a silent listener but an attentive observer of the outer world as well. He does not only hear the momentous words, but he *sees* too, and is fascinated by a visual impression.

I should like to show the works of Rembrandt which are in close relation to the Bonnat drawing. As a pupil of Lastman, Rembrandt was strongly influenced by Caravaggio's followers in Utrecht, and cultivated in his youthful work not only the heavy forms but also the sharp contrasts of shadow and light familiar to all followers of Caravaggio. May I call attention to a painting as generally neglected as the Bonnat drawing. It is a small genre-painting in the National Gallery of Ireland in Dublin, which, in spite of its old attribution to Rembrandt, was once wrongly attributed to Gerard Dou (Fig. 2). It has now been restored, I understand, to its real author. This painting of a game of *La Main Chaude* in a dark room lighted by a candle or oil-lamp, is so close in style and manner of painting to the *Foot Operation*, signed and dated 1628, in the Escher Collection at Zurich that there can be no doubt it is a work not only of the same period but of the same year. Clumsy and somewhat naive in its handling, it has considerable quality. The white-washed walls, decorated with "Rembrandt paintings" and an old map, emerging with a half-illuminated column from the half-light, achieve remarkably the effect of porous, crumbling materials. The scene is the same as in Gerard Dou's painting of *Rembrandt in his Studio at Leyden* in Sir Herbert Cook's Collection at Richmond. Of special charm is the group in the left corner, watching the curious ceremony of the game, which fills with its musical accompaniment the center of the composition. The whole scene recalls the Callot etchings representing artificial light effects, which is one more motive in support of Rembrandt's author-

ship. The charming group in the left-hand corner is so close to the Bonnat drawing that it is not difficult to recognize the same artistic imagination. The figures are grouped in the same way round a table bearing a candle, which is hidden by the figure seated next to the spectator. This person too is visible only as a dark silhouette, giving the effect of a screen. The strange parabolic shape of this silhouette, derived from the stylistic feeling of late Northern Mannerism, is once again significant of Rembrandt during his activity in his native town of Leyden.

The young Rembrandt liked the effect of space provided by dark silhouette figures in the foreground. We find them often in his early paintings and in his drawings as well. May I refer here to the reverse side (Fig. 3) of a Rembrandt drawing in the Koenigs Collection at Rotterdam, the *Raising of the Cross* (HdG. 1362). With different material, black chalk, but handled in the same rapid rhythm, Rembrandt seems there to attempt details of a composition very similar to the figures of the Bonnat drawing.

The stylistic comparison of figures drawn in grey chalk with those washed in with more or less heavy shades of bistre and ink is obviously rather difficult. But chalk drawings are not the only ones which allow a comparison. There are also bistre drawings containing sufficient brushwork to make comparison in some degree easier. May I begin with the self-portrait in the De Bruyn Collection at Spiez (Fig. 5). The features are drawn with the pen. Its brittle traces combine curved and straight lines, and give a sort of sculptural modeling to the sturdy round head. This pen technic was characteristic of the period about 1628/29 and occurs also in some of the earliest beggar studies, showing the influence of Callot's technic of sharp brittle pen drawing on the first years of Rembrandt's graphic development. The wild tuft of hair, the body and the shadow cast behind it on a wall or in space, are done with a brush. This impetuous modeling is so much like the brushwork in the Bonnat drawing that it is hardly possible to recognize in the latter another hand than Rembrandt's.

The self-portrait of the young Rembrandt in the Print Room of the British Museum (Fig. 6) is somewhat earlier than that of the De Bruyn Collection (Valentiner, *Handzeichnungen* 685). It is farther from a decided graphical system than the other and may be dated about

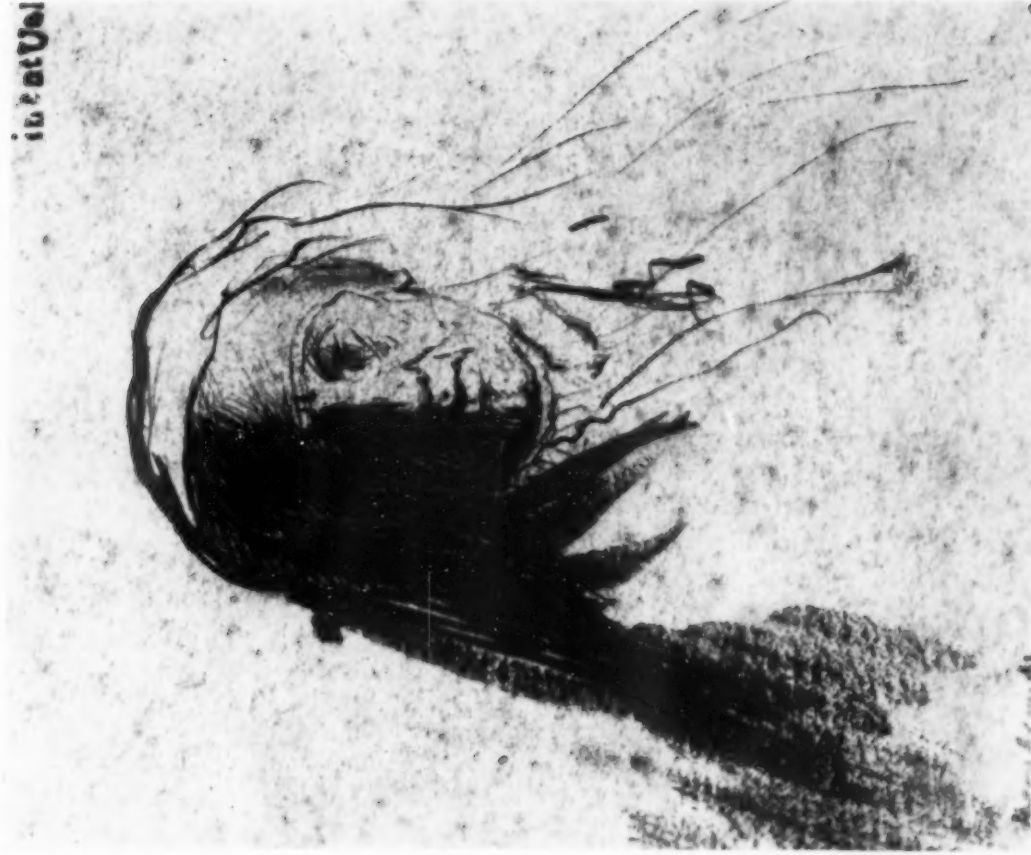


Fig. 4. REMBRANDT, *Drawing of his Mother*
 Lausanne, Stroelin Collection



Fig. 3. REMBRANDT, *Drawing, Reverse side of Raising of the Cross*
 Rotterdam, Boymans Museum



*Fig. 5. REMBRANDT, Self-Portrait
Spier, DeBruyn Collection*



*Fig. 6. REMBRANDT, Self-Portrait
London, British Museum*

1627/28. The young artist is still struggling to attain graphic expression. He endeavors to draw what he *sees*, to render these clumsy features staring at him from the looking glass, in an entirely empirical manner. For clearer accentuation he used different materials and different tools. He drew the face, the curls on the forehead and the collar with pen and grey ink. These dark, strong traces are surrounded by a more transparent brushwork with olive-brown bistre to indicate the mass of the hair, the modeling shadows and the bust. The difference in color of the two materials gives a very delicate effect and proves the young artist's sensitiveness in aims of color. Different from the De Bruyn self-portrait, this has in common with the Bonnat drawing the effect of artificial light. The person is plainly not represented in the diffused light of day but by night in the sharp light of a low candle. He seems to appear before the footlights of a stage. The loosely washed brushwork of this drawing models the body with the simplified contrast of shadow and artificial light in the same manner as in the Bonnat drawing.

Another example of portrait drawing by candle-light is the portrait of Rembrandt's mother in the Stroelin Collection at Lausanne (Fig. 4). The drawing shows an old woman with the majestic air of a prophetess in the sharp side-light falling from a low candle or lamp at the right. The same footlight effect as in the preceding drawing is to be seen in the shadow of the chin, slanting upwards to the left, and in the upper outline of the headcloth suddenly darkening in sharp relief. Once again the accentuating penstroke is mixed at the left with hasty brushstrokes, where the well-cut plasticity of the head disappears in the gloomy shadows of space faintly lighted by reflections.

A comparison of these two drawings with the Bonnat drawing well confirms Rembrandt as the author of the latter. Its mastery is not incompatible with the young Rembrandt's artistic ability. It may be recalled that Rembrandt's first etchings after a living model, the portraits of his mother, are already of the highest perfection attainable with the etching needle. It is no more impossible to acknowledge the Bonnat drawing as a work of the 22-year-old master than the etchings dated 1628. Although the Bonnat drawing is somewhat superior in liberty and spontaneity of handling to the simple portrait drawings, it shows the same sharp lines and rushing shadows, combined with forms of an emphasized realism in flaring light.

The small painting representing a group of singers in the Van Aalst Collection at Hoevelaken (Fig. 7) makes clear how by about the year 1626 Rembrandt already occupied himself with the problem of composing a group of persons concentrating on a common spiritual act and of making it stand out in all its luminosity from the background of darkness. It is a real continuation of Gherardo delle Notti's paintings. The Italian triangle composition exists in the Bonnat drawing too, but it is hidden and dispersed in space, plastic bodies, and floating shadows.

However, the conception of the drawing is not derived completely from the practice of the Caravaggiesque painters. Their artistic abstraction becomes in Rembrandt's works an intuition of reality. The group of singers is still an abstraction but the candle-light drawings are ingenious perceptions. The evening hours were for the Dutch artists the time to practice their draughtsmanship and graphic arts. This is illustrated in Rembrandt's etching, *An Artist Drawing at Candle-Light* (B.193). The unfinished etching, *The Designer before the Model* (B.243), shows in the completed portion of the vaults the mysterious play of shadows and half lights in a painter's studio at a late hour. We learn from Constantijn Huyghen's reference how restless and devoted to his artistic workmanship the young Rembrandt was, even to the point of being careless of his health. The long hours of the Dutch winter also had to be used for artistic practice. Pen and brush, bistre and ink were the best instruments. It is an old academic practice to arrange drawing lessons in the evening hours after painting from the model. And Rembrandt in his domestic academy in the miller's house at Leyden, where the features of mother, father, sister, brother and his own face were the chief models, accepted the custom. So the origin of these drawings is not solely the stylistic influence of the painters of night and cellar subjects, although the natural premise was in both cases the same.

We know that in a large number of early genre and portrait paintings and drawings Rembrandt used the members of his own family as models. Parents, brother and sister occur no less frequently than his own features. They formed a part of his historical and religious compositions as well. It is characteristic of Rembrandt that he filled his works with people of his own imagination. Even the models of his portraits are changed into spiritual entities, not always corresponding with their external appearance. This imagination was, more than that of any other



Fig. 7. REMBRANDT, *The Five Senses—Sound*
Hoewelaken, Van Aalst Collection



Fig. 8. REMBRANDT, *The Five Senses—Touch*
Hoewelaken, Van Aalst Collection



*Fig. 9. REMBRANDT, The Rembrandt Family
Dutch art market*

artist, formed by the people surrounding him in his earliest youth, by the members of his family. That is the case in the Bonnat drawing as well. It may be proved that it represents an evening scene in his home by a comparison with the singular group painting of Rembrandt's family, lately published by Vitale Bloch (Fig. 9). It seems to be somewhat earlier than the Bonnat drawing and may have been painted in the year 1626. Rembrandt's father is playing the violoncello, he himself the harp, his sister Lisbeth is singing from a large music book on her knees, and the mother is listening. It is not difficult to recognize some of these persons in the Bonnat drawing. Rembrandt's sister wears a strange head-dress having the shape of a horn, a cross between a doge's hat and a Burgundian cap, on the top of which a veil is fastened. This head-dress covered by the veil is also worn by the person reading in a large book in the Bonnat drawing. Although we cannot recognize her because of her shadowlike appearance, we may guess that it is Rembrandt's sister Lisbeth. That the young man observing attentively is Rembrandt himself, who saw the whole scene in a looking-glass and took the opportunity to draw it, may be easily recognized from the picture, in which he has given himself the same task of forming the top pyramidal composition. (May I suggest that the young man in the group of singers who holds the same position might be a variation of Rembrandt's image of himself?) To recognize the artist's mother in the pensive listening woman would be obvious. She has the sharp features which correspond with her numerous portraits. But here a difficulty arises. Rembrandt's mother never wore this dress with the kind of large lace collar and lace cuffs which became fashionable about 1630. We always see her wearing her fur jacket and furbelowed corsage. That may have been a house dress. But when she went out she certainly wore the stiff millstone collar, fashionable about 1600 in the time of the Spaniards, which was worn about 1630 only by elderly ladies and by Mennonites. That this woman is the young Saskia, as my friend Professor Van Regteren-Altena has suggested, does not seem probable because the portraits drawn by her bridegroom about 1633 show very young features, soft and round-cheeked, not so sharp and elderly as the woman in the Bonnat drawing. The question, therefore, remains open. Who of Rembrandt's family, which in 1622 consisted of seven brothers and sisters, is to be recognized in her?

In any case, Rembrandt seems to have received his inspiration from the daily life of his family, as he often did in later years. More than any other artist, he is in the deepest sense rooted in the reality of life, out of which he created his most sublime works of imagination.

DECORATIVE PAINTINGS OF THE VENETIAN RENAISSANCE RECONSTRUCTED FROM DRAWINGS

By E. TIETZE-CONRAT

IT is a very common complaint that a huge percentage of decorative paintings in Venice has been lost, greatly to the disadvantage of our knowledge of the Venetian Renaissance. Frescoes did not survive the damage caused by the damp air, and paintings on canvas which were meant to be more lasting substitutes for a fresco were mostly destroyed by the many and frequent conflagrations. Water and fire have left an irreparable gap in the artistic inheritance of the city. The many literary and documentary records referring to paintings of this description only allow us to estimate the greatness of our loss but do not make any amend for it. They incite us however to make every effort to reconstruct by every possible means the decorations of this type which seem to have especially fitted the Venetian taste for gaiety and splendour in art.

Lost paintings cannot be reconstructed by words. Some visual help is needed such as only images can offer. Three types of such illustrations exist: 1. Copies from the executed works; 2. Designs or other preparatory material preceding their execution; 3. Repetitions of the same subject by another artist, a proceeding called "*ristaurare*" in Venice and especially characteristic there. Before speaking of this curious sort of creative conservation of works of art, I must emphasize that the three sources mentioned above are not entirely independent, but often help one another and must, also, be combined with literary and documentary sources. In accordance with the special purpose of this article and with my special field of research I shall limit myself to the material available in drawings.

"*Ristaurare*" in Venetian terminology does not mean the restoration of an ancient painting by some technical procedure, but the production of a substitute for an older painting that was no longer to be preserved or, perhaps, no longer corresponded to current taste. The new version might be completely different from the old or might be more or less based on it. The important point is always that the subject matter with all its accessories was exactly preserved. If Venetian art had the feeling

of having "restored" or renewed the old work in such a case, in the sense of having preserved its essential quality, this transplanting of an old idea into a new form—something like an artistic metempsychosis—reveals a great valuation of the subject matter in comparison to which artistic form seemed secondary. Instances of this kind of "restoration" are numerous in Venetian art. One of the best known is the *Wedding of the Holy Virgin*, painted in 1521 by Palma Vecchio for the Chapel of Marino Quirino in Sant'Antonio which, being ruined in many parts as told by Ridolfi (I, 138), was renewed in 1611 for Luigi Quirino, the nephew of the original patron, by the nephew of the original artist, Jacomo Palma Giovane. If one compares this new version with the old one, a copy of which still exists in a drawing in Dresden, we see that in spite of his independence young Palma based his composition upon his uncle's. He did the same in many others. Renewals of Palma Vecchio's works by his nephew—in paintings and in drawings—could be the subject of an interesting investigation.

In this instance the preservation of the old composition was a private affair of the Quirini family. In others public interest forbade the annihilation of a composition consecrated by old tradition. The most famous painted decorations in Venice were those of the Ducal Palace. As early as 1319 the government of the Republic had begun to provide for a worthy decoration of its seat, and never had ceased to watch over the state of preservation and timely renovation of these wall paintings that were intended to glorify the history of Venice and of her public institutions. In an important article Professor Konrad Escher¹ has insisted on the official function of these paintings, and has pointed out that the practice of putting art to the service of the state, which appeared here for the first time, influenced enormously the evolution of decorative painting in the Baroque. Many years earlier Franz Wickhoff² had insisted on the interesting fact that the new paintings commissioned of Gentile Bellini in 1474 were to repeat exactly the subjects of those painted by Pisanello and Gentile de Fabriano in 1422, only modernising them in their form; "renew and repair" is the formula employed in the order (Lorenzi, Documenti, 188).

How far this renewing and repairing included an adaptation of the old composition seems to have been left as a purely artistic question to the decision of the artist. When in 1588 Jacopo Tintoretto had to



Fig. 1. PALMA GIOVANE, Sketch for the Siege of Rialto. Vienna, Liechtenstein Gallery



Fig. 2. ANDREA VICENTINO, Siege of Rialto Venice, Ducal Palace



Fig. 3. PALMA GIOVANE, Sketch for the Siege of Rialto Vienna, Liechtenstein Gallery



Fig. 4. CARPACCIO, *Design for the "Historia de Ancona"*
Sacramento, Crocker Art Gallery



Fig. 5. GIROLAMO GAMBARATA, *The Peace of Ancona*
Venice, Ducal Palace

"renew" Guariento's *Paradiso* of 1365, which had until then decorated the same wall, we may feel a certain reminiscence of the former composition's solemnity in Tintoretto's grand invention, but we cannot discover any direct stylistic connection. Here the distance between the two versions was too great. It was less in the decoration of the Sala Grande where three or four strata are—not in fact, but in idea—laid one upon another: the series of paintings executed by Pisanello and Gentile da Fabriano in 1422; the renewals ordered from Gentile Bellini and his followers, including Titian and Tintoretto; and the substitutes after the great fire of 1577 which had destroyed all the preceding decorations. Some of these later substitutes were once more damaged by rain and had to be replaced after a few years by new paintings. When the succession came so fast, the unity of the subject was of necessity accompanied by close formal connections which make the later version a document for the earlier one.

Two instances of such a continuance of the composition have already been discussed by Hans Tietze in his book on Titian³. Titian's *Emperor Frederic Prostrate before the Pope Alexander III*, which had been begun by Giovanni Bellini, but left behind unfinished at his death, was renewed by Federigo Zuccaro after its destruction by fire in 1577. Writers who had known Titian's painting tell us that he had modified Bellini's composition in different ways, especially by introducing in it a great many portraits of his friends and other well known Venetians whom the writers enumerate by name. This detail reveals that Zuccaro must have built up his composition to a certain degree upon Titian's, for the central group is surrounded by portrait figures whom we can partly recognize as those mentioned by Vasari and who belong by type and costume rather to the early than to the late sixteenth century. Moreover, Zuccaro's whole composition displays a strange mixture of modern and of old-fashioned elements; the big curved figures in the foreground are typical manneristic accessories, but the small and stiff figures which fill the middle belong to an earlier conception. If Zuccaro used some part of the composition preceding his own he went back to its earliest strata; for the violent foreshortening of the facade of St. Mark's church and the accumulation of small figures corresponds more to the style of Giovanni Bellini than that of Titian. The latter, who was responsible for the principal group in the center of

the composition, has apparently influenced another representation of the same subject (which I shall discuss later) whose creator, Pietro Malombra, ought to have been more easily susceptible to Titian's than to Bellini's style.

Another instance of the partial survival of an older composition in its substitute is Tintoretto's version of Titian's votive picture for the Doge Andrea Gritti in the Sala del Collegio in the Ducal Palace. We can observe this in an anonymous woodcut which reproduces Titian's original painting. Tintoretto changed completely the left half of the composition, but repeated the right half rather fully, including the figure of St. Dominic for which Titian's magnificent drawing still exists in the Uffizi⁴. Here various details of a preceding painting have been inserted in its renewed edition.

In Andrea Vicentino's substitute for Palma Giovane's *Siege of Rialto by Pepin son of Charlemagne in 809* in the Sala dello Scrutinio, it is not so much the details as the whole spirit of the lost composition which reappears. We do not know why the latter, mentioned by Bardi⁵ and Sansovino-Stringa⁶, had to be replaced so soon after its execution. It was perhaps spoiled by rain as were some others of the new paintings. Anyhow we have the means for a partial reconstruction in two hasty sketches by Palma Giovane in the Prince Liechtenstein Collection in Vienna (Figs. 1 & 3). The subject represented is so queer and so rare that there can be no doubt we must recognize it also in the drawings: when the Venetians were besieged by Pepin in 809, in order to demonstrate the abundance of the provisions at their disposal, by means of certain engines they shot loaves of bread into their adversaries' camp and made them raise the siege (Ridolfi II, 147). The sketches are preliminary and we do not know how exactly the final execution was based upon them. But in many points they resemble the composition painted by Vicentino to replace Palma's representation of the subject⁷ (Fig. 2).

Here I insert an instance, far more interesting, in which the later "restoration" helps to control the design for one of the lost early paintings in this hall, so that we may compare the first and the last stage. We identified the drawing (Fig. 4) among the almost unknown treasures of the E. B. Crocker Art Gallery in Sacramento, California. Unfortunately I have not seen the original, and of the reverse, which is said to show a resembling sketch executed in red chalk, not even a photograph. But the

photograph of the main side—which we owe to the kindness of Professor Alfred Neumeyer at Mills College—is sufficient to recognize the drawing formerly attributed to Pietro Perugino as being by Carpaccio⁸. The use of red chalk and pen occasionally in the same drawing is typical of him. The drawing, extremely important as the only existing document of a once famous decoration, is the design for the “*Historia de Ancona*”, the bestowing of the ceremonial parasol to the Doge at Ancona, a composition for which Giovanni Bellini, the chief artist responsible for the series of decorations in the Ducal Palace, had got the commission, probably on September 28, 1507⁹.

That the execution was not by Bellini himself, but was shifted to Carpaccio, who collaborated also in other of these paintings, is made evident by the latter’s letter to the Margrave of Mantua of August 20, 1511¹⁰. In this letter the artist reminds the prince of having made his acquaintance on the scaffolding when Carpaccio painted the “*Historia de Ancona*” in the hall of the Ducal Palace. Like its companions, the painting was destroyed by fire in 1577. Girolamo Gambarata, who towards the end of the seventeenth century had to paint the substitute, followed Carpaccio’s composition exactly (Fig. 5), as a comparison with the design reveals¹¹. Pope Alexander III and Emperor Frederic Barbarossa advance from the left to the center of the composition, their attendants holding the ceremonial parasol over their heads. Over the order of the Pope a third parasol is brought, which a kneeling clergyman holds with both hands while the Pope, who presents, and the Doge, who accepts the symbol of dignity, touch it with one hand each. The attitude between striding and kneeling, so typical of Carpaccio, is taken up by Gambarata, who also, when painting the page carrying the Doge’s cap, remembered how the young clerics emphasized the figure of the Doge by their parallel postures.

Sometimes in these “restorations” subjects were dropped. After the conflagration of the big hall in 1577 one of its most famous wall paintings, Titian’s *Battle of Cadore*, which had never completely fitted into the program of the room, was not repeated on the old spot but its subject was shifted over to the decoration of the ceiling, where it was repeated by Francesco Bassano without any borrowing from his predecessor¹². Two other subjects which previously have been represented in two much praised masterpieces were entirely left out in the new

decoration. Tintoretto's *Coronation of Emperor Frederic by Pope Adrian* and his *Excommunication of the Emperor by Pope Alexander III*, the former painted 1562 to 1564 and the latter in 1553, did not even survive in a "renewal". Most luckily, a very important drawing in Mr. Paul Oppé's Collection in London allows us to a certain degree to make up for this loss.

The sheet of thin paper, measuring 204 to 307 mm., has red chalk drawings on either side, executed in a very spirited and bold fashion; they are characteristic notes upon already executed compositions (Figs. 6 & 7). The models of one side are easily identified: they are the ceilings by Paolo Veronese in the Sala del Collegio in the Ducal Palace¹³. On the other side two compositions are drawn in different directions to utilize fully the space. In spite of their sketchy execution they are sufficiently exact for everyone who has read attentively the description by Ridolfi of Tintoretto's historical paintings in the Sala del Gran Consiglio (II, 23).

"... He got consequently the commission to make the history of Emperor Frederic who received in Rome the Imperial crown by the hand of Pope Adrian. He represented the papal court with much dignity: cardinals, bishops and Venetian senators, among them the procurator of S. Marco, Stefano Tiepoles, Daniele Barbaro, the Patriarch of Aquileia Grimani and other Venetian Noblemen ..."

"... And Paolo having obtained the commission for a painting in the same hall, Tintoretto, with the help of his protectors, managed also to get an order and painted Pope Alexander III with a number of cardinals and prelates in the act of excommunicating the above mentioned Emperor. He succeeded in expressing in the bystanders all the horror and dread which such a malediction would raise by representing the Pope just in the act of throwing the extinguished candles among the crowd. And in order to give way to his fancy he imagined a scuffle between these ruffians who, beating one another, struggle to drag the candles from the others' hands. Moreover Tintoretto executed every part of the story with utmost zeal and accuracy so that the painting was praised by everybody as a unique achievement. It contained also portraits of Marchio Michieli, procurator of S. Mark, of Michele Suriano and other famous persons ..."

I do not think there can be any doubt that the two sketches reproduce Tintoretto's lost compositions. The excommunication, in spite of showing clearly all the episodes mentioned by Ridolfi, displays all the fury by which young Tintoretto—as early as 1553—frightened the connoisseurs in Venice; and in the crowning of the Emperor we may recognize his somewhat quieter style of the early sixties. The latter composition is moreover seconded by another copy in the drawing department of the Uffizi (1828 F) and attributed there to Tintoretto (Fig. 9). The big brush drawing (390 x 270 mm.) reproduces the same composition in a much dryer and apparently much more faithful manner and in so

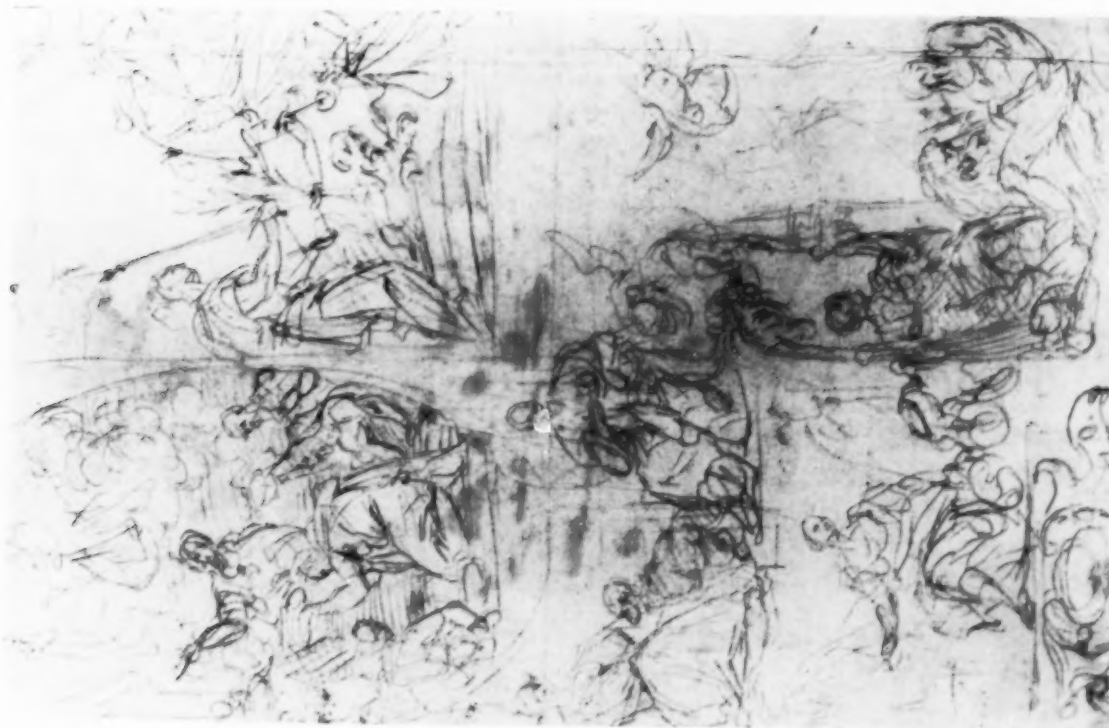


Fig. 6. EL GRECO (?), Drawing after Veronese
London, Paul Oppé Collection



Fig. 7. EL GRECO (?), Drawing after Tintoretto
London, Paul Oppé Collection



Fig. 8. PORDENONE, Sketch for the facade of the Palazzo d' Anna. Paris, Louvre



Fig. 9. Copy from TINTORETTO'S "Coronation" in the Ducal Palace. Florence, The Uffizi



Fig. 10. EL GRECO (?), Red chalk drawing Vienna, Albertina

doing, emphasizes the superiority of Mr. Oppé's drawing. What an amazing difference between the two interpretations! The drawing in Florence resembles a group of drawings which for various reasons we are inclined to ascribe to Pase Pase; for the Oppé drawing any attribution offers a much greater risk.

Certain assistance may be derived from the circumstance that the drawing in London can be almost exactly dated. Veronese's ceilings were painted between 1574 and 1577¹⁴; Tintoretto's paintings were destroyed by fire the 20th of December, 1577. Between 1574 and 1577, therefore, these records must have been drawn by an artist who was a direct follower of neither master, but kept his independence and originality in the face of both. He must have had access to the Ducal Palace for otherwise he could not have seen Veronese's paintings which were still in the making at the time Tintoretto's burned. It is quite understandable that Mr. Oppé, who is not only the fortunate owner of the sheet, but also a well known and excellent connoisseur of drawings, should propose the name of the distinguished foreigner who had returned to Venice in 1572 and left it for Spain in 1576: El Greco.

The suggestion is tempting, for El Greco had both the opportunity and had the qualities, but we must add at once that it can scarcely be proven. The compositions belong to the artists from whom they are taken—it is remarkable how well the anonymous draughtsman, in spite of his geniality, expressed the difference of two styles—but we have no material available for comparison with the actual draughtsmanship; we possess next to no authentic drawings by El Greco and certainly none from this early period. There is too little evidence, therefore, on which to base a sound attribution. Nevertheless I am inclined to see more in it than a suggestive idea. El Greco's handwriting in his pre-Spanish period, as it can best be studied by the aid of the splendid details in Pallucchini's monograph on the polyptych in Modena¹⁵ is very close to Mr. Oppé's drawing. Moreover the latter shows a striking resemblance to a red chalk drawing in the Albertina (No. 74) which has been given to Jacopo Bassano and dated about 1560 (Fig. 10)¹⁶, mostly with reference to the *Adoration of the Magi* in the Vienna Gallery (nr. 272) which has itself frequently been attributed to El Greco. I cannot give here the reasons why Jacopo Bassano is to be eliminated as the author of the drawing in Vienna; I must leave that for

our critical catalogue. I limit myself to the statement that the artist who drew the sheet in Mr. Oppé's Collection also made the similarly spirited sketch in the Albertina and that this artist, all the more for this nearness to Bassano, could have been El Greco. Perhaps our drawing may give a new insight into Greco's development or at least into the conditions under which it took place¹⁷. It also gives a clue to two lost compositions by Tintoretto and so forms a late companion to *The Delivery of the Sacred Sword to the Doge*, a drawing in the British Museum (1891, 6-17-23) formerly attributed to Gentile Bellini himself¹⁸, but nowadays universally considered a copy after Bellini's lost wall painting in the same hall, for which Tintoretto painted his compositions a whole century later.

The paintings in the Doge's Palace are not the only famous ones in Venice which have gone to ruin. They at least had an opportunity of survival in the later work which replaced and renewed them while the no less renowned murals painted by Giorgione and Titian on the two facades of the Fondaco dei Tedeschi are completely lost. The small and utterly deteriorated portion of this decoration lately rescued in the Academy means only a confirmation of the irreparable loss. The well known auxiliary means for the reconstruction of these paintings are the etchings published by Zanetti in 1760 in his book on various mural paintings in Venice, and a few other graphic reproductions. But these all limit themselves to a few single figures which were probably in the best state of preservation and of visibility when the engravers worked. They help us to make a certain acquaintance with Giorgione's—and with Titian's—figure style, but they give no idea of the total aspect of the decoration. To get a faint idea of how the whole decoration may have looked we are thrown back upon Ridolfi's description: . . . "Over the facade he distributed trophies, nude figures, heads in clair-obscur; in the corners he put geometricians measuring earthglobes, columns in perspective and between them riders on horseback and other fancies in order to show his skill in fresco-painting . . ." According to this description the decoration was a very gay and varied whole, probably somewhat in the manner of Pordenone's famous facade of the Palazzo d'Anna in Venice. This, too, is unfortunately on the long casualty list of such decorations, but an interesting drawing in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London can at least give us a sufficient idea of it

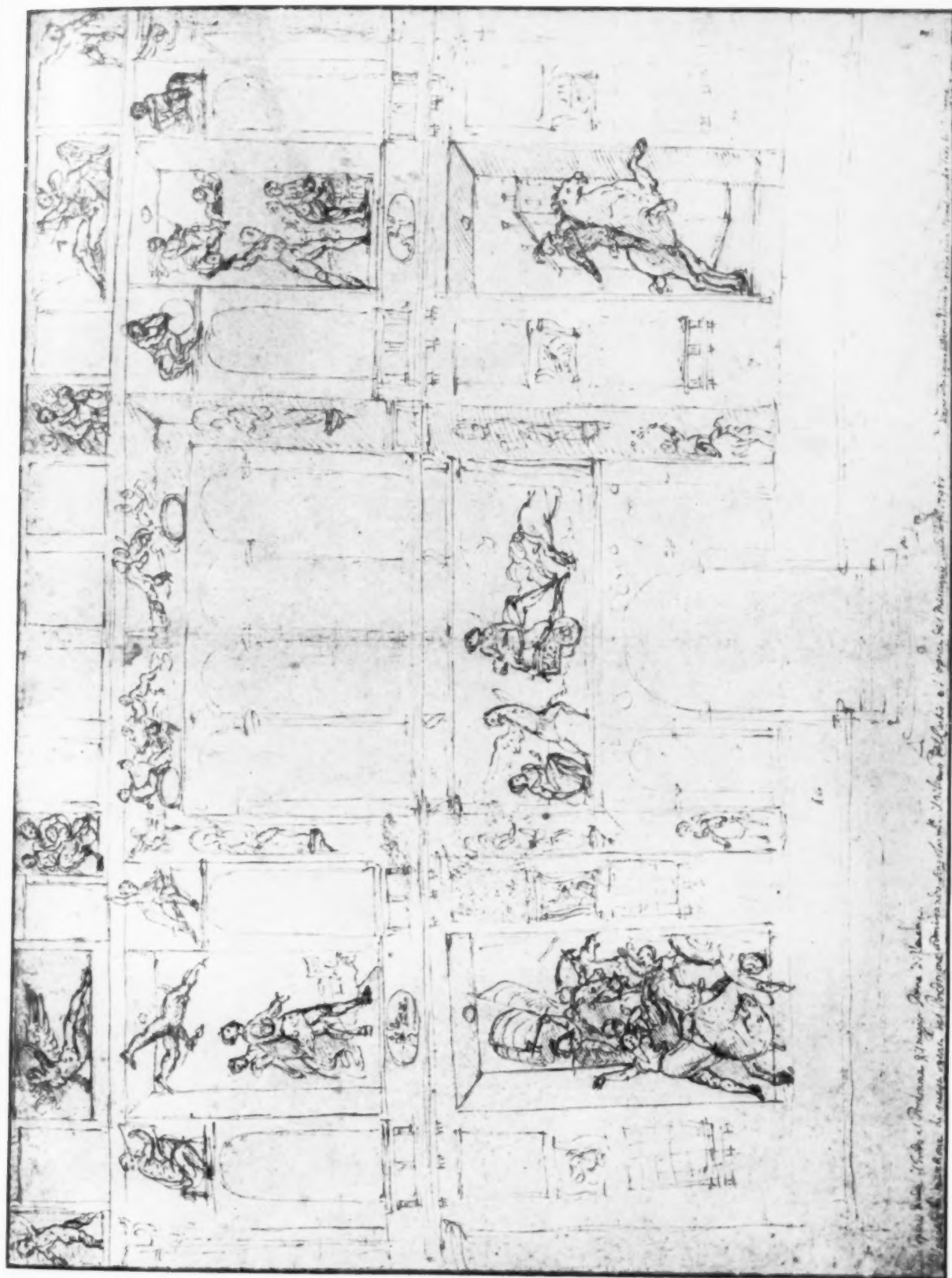


Fig. 11. Copy from PORDENONE'S facade of the Palazzo d'Anna. London, Victoria and Albert Museum



Fig. 12. HENRIK VAN DER BORCHT, Engraving after GIORGIONE (?)

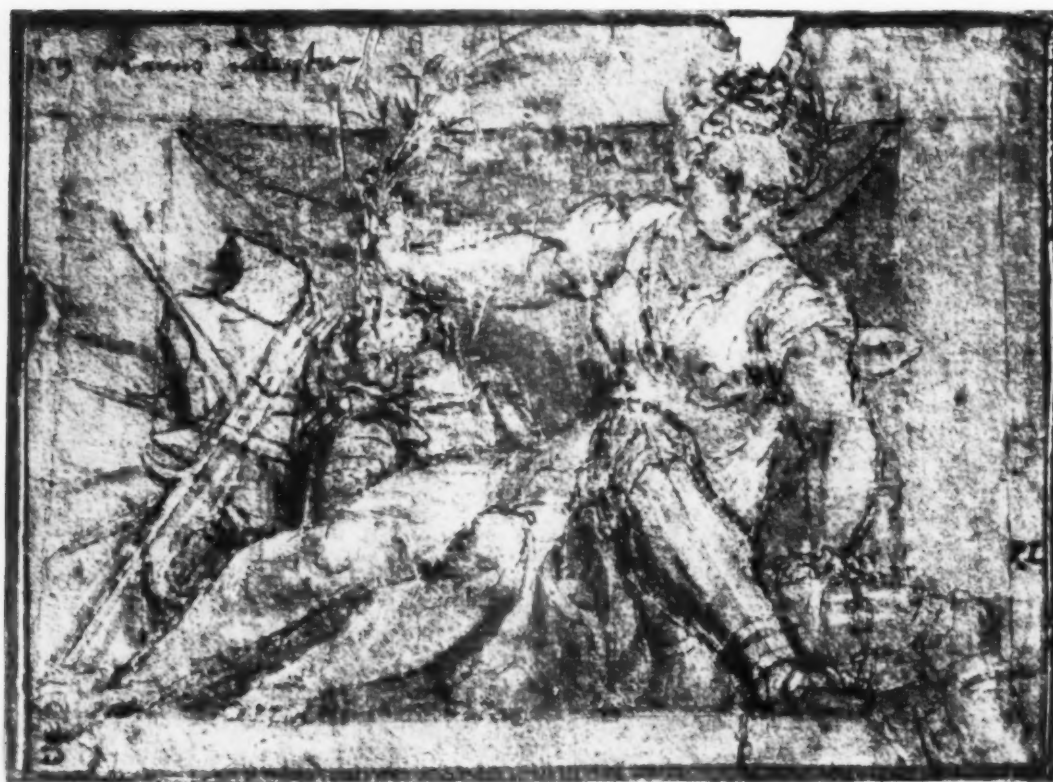


Fig. 13. VENETIAN, XVI CENTURY
Drawing connected with a fresco by GIORGIONE (?)
Chatsworth, Duke of Devonshire

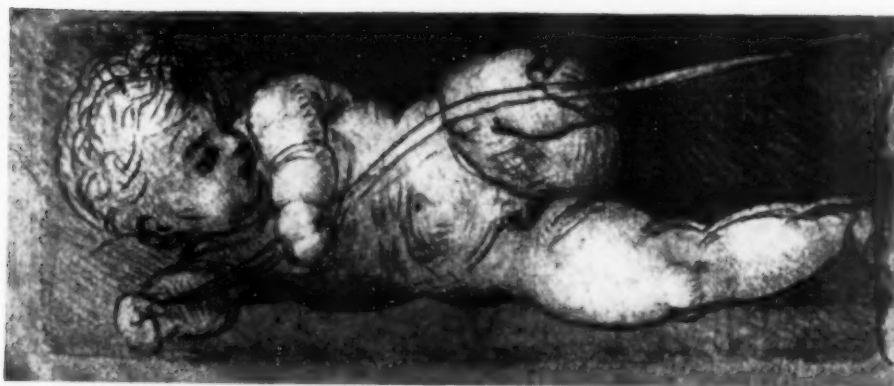


Fig. 14. GIORGIONE,
Red chalk drawing, New York,
Metropolitan Museum of Art

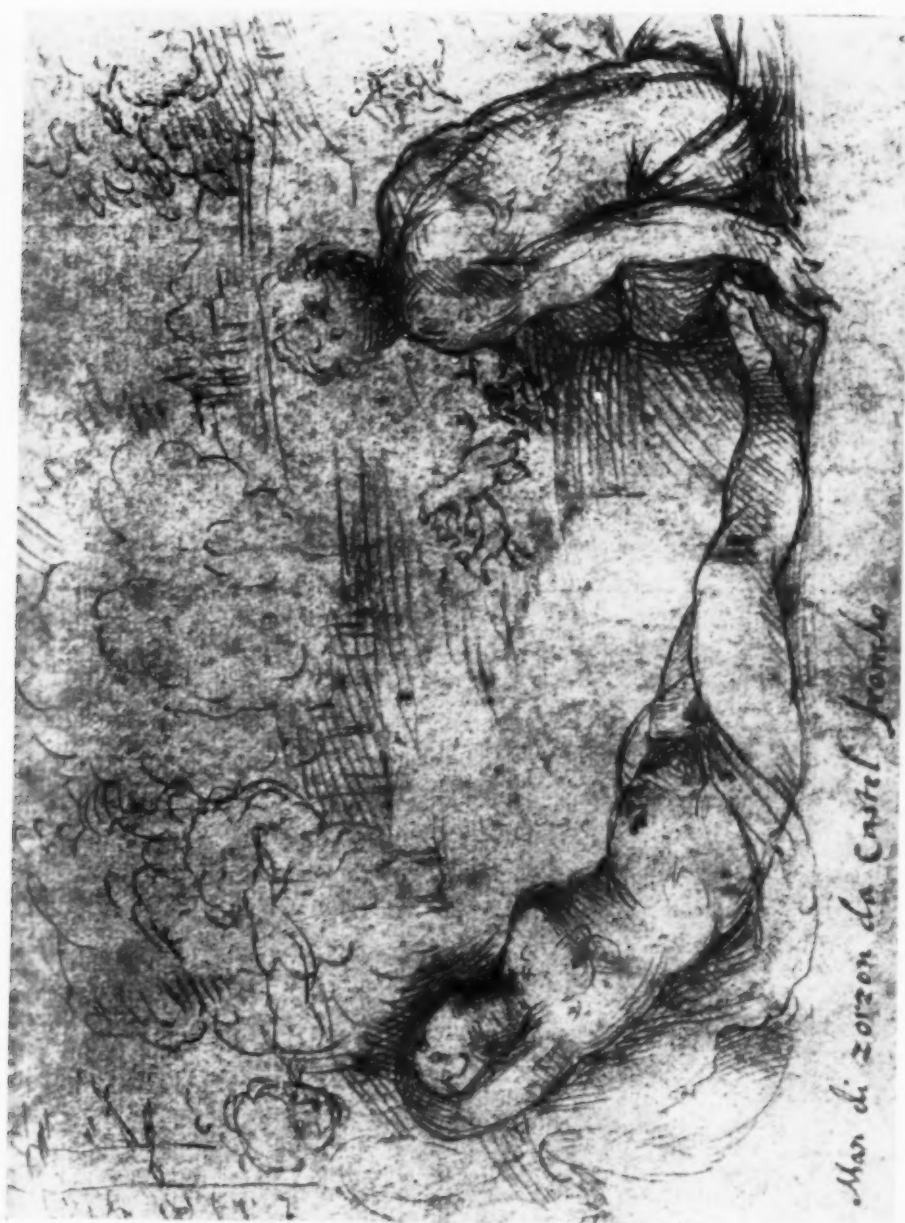


Fig. 15. GIORGIONE, *Venus*
Darmstadt Museum



Fig. 17. ITALIAN, XVII CENTURY, Red chalk drawing.
Salzburg, University Library

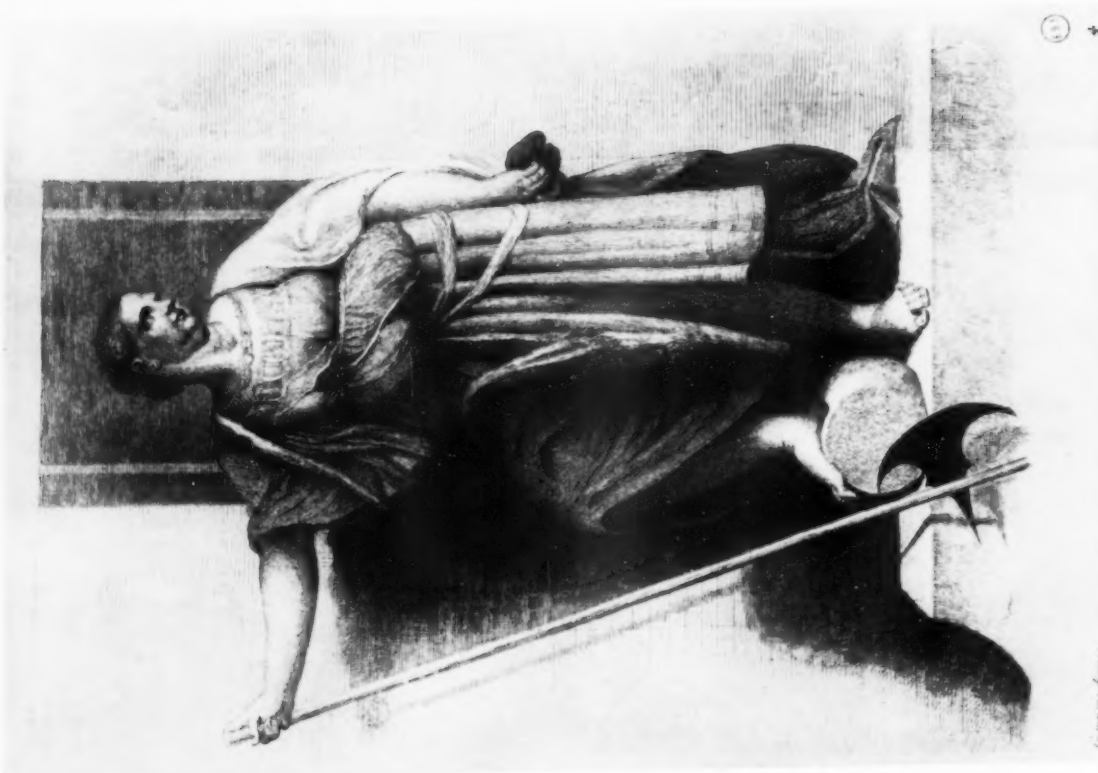


Fig. 16. ZANETTI, Engraving after Giorgione

(Fig. 11). With the exception of Conte Lodovico Foscari¹⁹ who accepts the drawing as a study by Pordenone himself, everybody agrees with Von Hadeln who published it as a copy after Pordenone²⁰. We possess an authentic drawing by the artist for only one portion of the facade, the antique battlescene in the left half of the decoration (Fig. 8)²¹. It is evidently the final design complete in every detail and made perhaps for the use of an assistant who was to execute the painting on the wall. A comparison of this with the drawing in London spares us a further discussion of the reasons why the latter is only a copy. Its seeming geniality is not the result of a preparatory stage, but of the haste with which the copyist noted the finished composition²².

Nothing of this kind exists for Giorgione's frescoes on the Fondaco. We must explore the more carefully every vestige which promises a little elucidation of the lost paintings. A composition preserved in an engraving by Henrik van der Borcht (Fig. 12), and by the inscription of the engraving expressly attributed to Giorgione, has been connected with the Fondaco by Ludwig Justi. A drawing in Chatsworth (Fig. 13) (nr. 814; *Anonymous Venetian*) almost exactly corresponding with the reversed engraving shows at least the original arrangement. Perhaps it shows still more, for it is evidently closer to the original than the engraving. It was not made for the latter, for its style is earlier than the activity of either the two Van der Borchts, father or son, the one born in 1583, the other in 1614. It is certainly a drawing of the sixteenth, even of the earlier sixteenth century and the handwriting in the left upper corner is of the same time²³. But how far back may we go? The question is doubly puzzling, first for the composition and secondly for the style of draughtsmanship. Justi linked the invention to the "trophies" mentioned in Ridolfi's description of the Fondaco. But could not similar motives have been used by the many fresco painters who imitated Giorgione? In Pordenone's d'Anna decoration we find rather similar groups in the upper row. I should not go back for the execution of the drawing beyond the second quarter of the sixteenth century. It might have been done by a pupil who copied a fresco by Giorgione or by Pordenone under Giorgione's influence. The actual state of our knowledge of Giorgione does not make a precise decision possible.

I feel more solid ground under my feet when I turn towards another

drawing, hitherto as little studied as the previous one, but also to be discussed in connection with the Fondaco. It belongs among the anonymous drawings in the Metropolitan Museum (no. 11.66.5) (Fig. 14), and is executed in red chalk. The rectangular part almost filled by the putto, which alone is old, measures 158 x 63 mm; it is inserted in a similar paper the upper part of which is rounded in a semi-circle. This mount seems to be that of Mariette, who once owned the drawing (later it belonged to Maurice Count Fries); in his catalogue it is listed under Giorgione's name (*Amour tenant son arc, à la sanguine*) together with a *Femme endormie*, also in red chalk, already identified by G. M. Richter with the Venus in Darmstadt (Fig. 15), the drawing which we consider the best specimen of Giorgione's late draughtsmanship²⁴. The conformity between the two drawings is so great that if one is by Giorgione the other must share its authorship. It would lead me too far to enumerate here all the stylistic arguments for this attribution; our Catalogue will more explicitly take up the question. For the moment I can only mention that among the inventions described by Vasari as existing on the Fondaco facade there is "una donna . . . con un angelo a guisa d'un Cupido", a description which agrees the more closely with the drawing in as much as its foreshortening points to an intended use at an elevation²⁵. This facade need not of necessity have been that of the Fondaco, for the style belongs to Giorgione's last period. Consequently its most striking analogies are to be found among Titian's *putti* which are very close to Giorgione, for instance the bambino in the *Gipsy-Madonna* at Vienna or the standing child in *The Three Ages* at Bridgewater House. The resemblance also of our putto to those in the ceiling from the Palazzo Grimani near S. Maria Formosa in Venice, now in Mrs. Ralph Bankes' Collection in Kingston Lacy in England²⁶, ought to be taken in consideration. It may throw some light on this curious composition, whose mystery has not been solved by its treatment in Dr. Richter's book.

Another problem offered by Giorgione's decorative paintings is that of his now vanished allegories in the Palazzo Loredan-Vendramin-Calergi in Venice. One of the two figures *The Diligenza* has been etched by Zanetti in his corpus of the Venetian frescoes (Fig. 16). Here and elsewhere it is attributed to Giorgione but the attribution was doubted by other scholars, among them Ludwig Justi who hesi-



Fig. 18. TITIAN WORKSHOP, *Wash drawing*
Venice, Museo Civico



Fig. 19. ITALIAN, XVII CENTURY,
Drawing of a mythological scene
Haarlem, Franz Koenigs

Fig. 20. PIETRO MALOMBRA,
Pope Alexander III Putting his Foot on
Emperor Frederic's Head
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art





Fig. 21. PAOLO VERONESE, *Sheet of Studies*
London art market



Fig. 22. VERONESE WORKSHOP, *Wash drawing*
Milan, Museo di Castello



Fig. 23. VERONESE WORKSHOP, *Wash drawing*
Milan, Museo di Castello

tated between Pordenone and Titian. Dr. Richter, who pleads for Giorgione, states justly that the fresco probably was already very much ruined in Zanetti's time and that the copyist probably put something of his own style into his reproduction. This is confirmed by a document certainly a century older than Zanetti's etching, a red chalk drawing in the University Library in Salzburg, Austria (no. 335) (Fig 17), belonging to a group of copies made in the middle of the seventeenth century and all belonging to the same collection. The figure in the drawing is much more slender and graceful than that in the etching, and approaches much more the original Giorgionesque character of the fresco of which now no trace is left on the spot.

There is still another problem which we may tackle with the aid of our new material. The literary sources (Vasar, Boschini, Ridolfi) mention and describe mythological paintings by Giorgione on the facade of the Palazzo Soranzo on the Campo San Polo in Venice. Their descriptions are not very exact, for even in their time the frescoes had already fallen into decay. That is why we snatch eagerly at a drawing in the Franz Koenig Collection in Haarlem (I 99; Anonymous Italian) (Fig. 19) which under a mythological scene in a landscape bears the inscription: "Al Campo So Polo" and (in another ink) "Gio. Batt. Zelotti" (crossed out) "Scuola del Palma." The second line was evidently written by a collector who could not make up his mind. The first, however, indicating the locality of the painting seems more trustworthy. It is easier to tell from where a drawing is copied than to attribute it to a definite master. The drawing is evidently a copy, and there is little doubt that its original existed on one of the palaces in Campo San Polo, of which many were painted. Besides the Palazzo Soranzo decorated by Giorgione we hear of the Maffetti Palace, painted with mythological scenes by Giuseppe Salviati and of a neighboring house similarly decorated by Camillo Ballini. It would take quite a time to demonstrate that the drawing is neither by Zelotti nor by Palma and that the original composition differs very much from the style of Salviati or Ballini and is older than both these artists. I want only to insist on two points which invite a more thorough investigation of the problem: the landscape is constructed upon the same principles as that in Giorgione's *Tempesta*, and the female figure with the pointed nose, the loose gestures and the knee drawn upwards has the character of his

women on the Fondaco. It is not impossible that we may discover here a Giorgionesque invention in the deceptive mirror of a later interpretation.

Sometimes the mirror in which we must find the perished work is not posterior, but anterior to its execution. After so many copies I wish to discuss a few preparatory designs. Among the drawings given by Cornelius Vanderbilt to the Metropolitan Museum in 1880, there is one magnificent sheet (no. 80.3.364; *Unknown Italian*) which represents *Pope Alexander III Putting His Foot on Emperor Frederic's Head*. (Fig. 20). The composition was evidently meant to fit into a semicircular lunette, and this helps us to discover the author of the drawing. Ridolfi tells in the life of Pietro Malombra (II, 157) that this artist painted for San Jacopo di Rialto two semicircular supraports, one of which represented Pope Alexander III putting his foot on the neck of Emperor Frederic Barbarossa, and that in this painting he portrayed the Doge Marino Grimani. The painting still mentioned in 1819 by Moschini (*Itineraire*, p. 258) no longer exists, but the drawing corresponds so exactly to Ridolfi's description that it cannot but be the design for this lunette. In this drawing, which surpasses by far all his others, he drew inspiration from Titian's composition of the same subject. We mentioned above that a great invention by Titian penetrates through Zuccaro's "restoration" and this in turn in its central group shows a striking resemblance to Malombra's composition which is otherwise much too grandiose for him.

Here we have a drawing outlining the whole composition. In the Museo Civico at Venice we find another fixing a single detail of a big composition (Fig. 18). The lion (brush, brown, washed in grey, on grey paper, 222 x 335 mm.) which is there classed among the anonymous drawings, was used in one of Titian's ceilings for the townhall of Brescia, destroyed by fire in 1575, but preserved by an engraving of 1572 by Melchior Meier (Tietze, *Titian*, I pl. XXII). The drawing is much too free to be a copy from the painting. It evidently served for the latter and may have been done by Titian's son Orazio to whom most of the execution seems to have been left. When he brought the paintings to Brescia in 1568 there was a terrible row about them, for the aldermen refused to accept them because they did not find Titian's own hand in them. It may be that his contribution to this commissioned work was

limited to a general supervision and to sketches. But the drawing in Venice is not one of these. It is very different in style from another lion in the Koenig's Collection which we have reasons to give to Titian himself, and looks rather like a typical workshop product.

As a matter of fact we are not sufficiently well acquainted with the methods employed by big Venetian workshops in working out such extensive decoration. A better insight into how the work was divided between master and assistants would help to a better appreciation of existing paintings and drawings. The Museo di Castello of Milan possesses a number of drawings in an old bequest of Marchese Bolognini. They are all executed in the same technique (brush, washed in grey, heightened in white, on blue paper) and apparently always were part of an old group (Figs. 22 & 23). A number of them can be connected with decorations painted by Paolo Veronese and G. B. Zelotti. Of Paolo's ceilings in the Palazzo Trevisani in Murano some fragments at least are still extant on the spot. Of the murals by Paolo and Zelotti in the Palazzo Soranzo near Castelfranco, which were detached and transferred to canvas by Filippo Balbi in 1817, a number of pieces are preserved in the Sacristy of the Cathedral of Castelfranco, in the Patriarch's Palace in Venice, and elsewhere. The drawings are not sketches. In the single case in which we can compare one of them with an authentic sketch by Paolo, the difference is striking. A pen and ink drawing in the London art market (Fig. 21), in addition to other hasty sketches for the ceiling in the Palazzo Trevisani, shows the first idea for the putti (throwing water on burning torches) which exists also among the drawings in the Castello. I need not insist on the enormous difference. On the other hand the drawings do not have the characteristics of copies, for where we can compare them with still existing fragments we find noticeable deviations and everywhere the typical style of Paolo's workshop. What we have before us looks like the working material used in the shop, the connecting links between the leading artist's invention and the execution largely left to assistants. Such a method of procedure explains why the work of the two artists collaborating in these decorations is so hard to differentiate, as Professor Fiocco states in his book on Veronese. At the beginning of their careers they worked with a common stock of ideas and material. If we go through the detailed descriptions of the two decorations in

their original richness we discover almost identical motives in each place, and the drawings in the Castello confirm the community of the workshop. That gives them a special interest. As a rule, the study of drawings leads to a more intimate knowledge of the individual artist. And our present study also throws an unexpected light on collective production, which, after all, is an extremely important feature of Venetian art²⁷.

¹ "Die grossen Gemäldefolgen im Dogenpalast in Venedig und ihre inhaltliche Bedeutung fuer den Barock," *Repertorium fuer Kunstwissenschaft*, 1919, 87—125.

² "Der Saal des Grossen Rates zu Venedig in seinem alten Schmuck," *Repertorium fuer Kunstwissenschaft*, VI, p. 1ff.

³ *Titian, Leben und Werk*, Vienna, 1937, p. 129.

⁴ Hans Tietze, *Titian*, Pl. 105 and Bercken Mayer, *Tintoretto*, 1923, pl. 149.

⁵ *Dichiarazione di tutte le istorie . . . Venezia*, 1587, c. 6 r^o.

⁶ *Venetia Città Nobilissima, Venezia*, 1604, c. 240 r^o.

⁷ In connection with Vicentino's accommodation to Palma's composition, it would be interesting to know whether he showed a similar subordination when he had to renew Tintoretto's *Battle of Lepanto* destroyed in 1577. It rather seems not, for his whole composition (Venturi, *Storia dell'Arte* IX, 7) is based on another principle than Tintoretto's *Battles* in which, as a rule, big single figures are placed in the foreground. An important means of comparison for the details ought to be found in the numerous sketches of fighting soldiers by Tintoretto which cannot be located in others of his battle pieces and which therefore may have been destined for this work, the most important of this class.

⁸ As the inscription shows, the drawing had already been recognized by some former owner as being by Carpaccio. It bears the collector mark Joachim von Sandrart and I. G. Schumann, Dresden (information from Dr. Neumeyer and Mr. Harry N. Pratt). It measures 210 by 295 mm.

⁹ Ridolfi therefore lists the painting among those executed by Bellini. Ridolfi, ed. Hadeln, I, 68.

¹⁰ The letter was published by Bertolotti, "*Artisti in relazione coi Gonzaga*," Modena 1885, p. 152. It is extensively quoted by van Marle XVIII, p. 202; see also Ridolfi, I, 45, n. 2.

¹¹ Gambarata's composition is reproduced in Venturi IX, 7, fig. 30, but the caption has by mistake been interchanged with the one of fig. 43.

¹² On the reconstruction of Titian's *Battle of Cadore*, see my article in *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft fur vervielfältigende Kunst*, 1925, p. 42 and in *Old Master Drawings*, 1936. Of the drawings which have been connected with the *Battle* there is only one, the newly discovered *Man on Horseback* in the Uffizi which really belongs to it.

¹³ See reproductions in Venturi, *Storia* IX, 4, Figs. 642, 646, 647 and Meissner, *Veronese*, 103.

¹⁴ Following Von Hadeln in *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* XXXII, supplement p. 32f.

¹⁵ Rome, 1937, pl. V, IX, X.

¹⁶ Better reproduced in Stix, *Zeichnungen aus der Albertina*, N. S. II, 26.

¹⁷ That El Greco carried with him to Spain drawings from Venetian paintings still in the making is proved by an observation, made by R. Pallucchini in his book on the *Scuola di San Rocco*, p. 67, viz., that El Greco followed in his Saint Sebastian in the Cathedral of Valencia Tintoretto's painting of the same Saint in San Rocco which was only begun in 1576, the year in which El Greco left Venice.

¹⁸ Colvin in *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XIII, p. 23ff.

¹⁹ *Affreschi esterni a Venezia*, Milano, 1936, p. 51.

²⁰ *The Burlington Magazine*, 1924, March, p. 149.

²¹ Louvre, 5429, pen and bistre, washed, on blue paper, squared, 528 x 147 mm.

²² Another detail of this decoration has been recorded by a well known chiaroscuro woodcut which is probably based on a Pordenone drawing, see my article in *Burlington Magazine*, 1939.

²³ I am unable to give an undubitable reading of this inscription which certainly is German. It might run "... friedens maister" (Master of peace, what might allude to the allegorical significance) or "... oni ticians maister" (Giorgi—one master of Titian). As a curiosity I may add that in the inventory of Baron Imsterad in Cologne of 1670 Giorgione is mentioned with the formula "des Titians Maister."

²⁴ Tietze, *Titian*, plate XIII.

²⁵ My identification of the putto in the Metropolitan with Ridolfi's description contradicts a suggestion made by J. Wilde in *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* N. S. IV, p. 252, who connects the passage in question with a painting by Girolamo da Treviso and an engraving by Marcantonio. I have many reasons to doubt the justness of his hypothesis.

²⁶ G. M. Richter, *Giorgione*, p. 221, pl. 54.

²⁷ See Hans Tietze, "Master and Workshop in the Venetian Renaissance," *Parnassus*, December, 1939, p. 34.

THE ROMANTIC PRELUDE TO DUTCH REALISM

By E. P. RICHARDSON

THE years from 1600 to 1630 were a transition period in Dutch art. At their beginning Dutch painting was dominated by mannerism, which was then at its height in Goltzius, van Mander and Cornelis van Haarlem. These painters were devoted to the problems of ideal subject matter and sculptural form which had been the dominant interest of sixteenth century artists since Michelangelo had completed the *Last Judgment*. By 1635 the national tradition of realism had "won the field," as Martin says,¹ against the imported southern elements of taste, and Dutch painting was in its first brilliant flower.

But thirty years is a long time in the crowded history of Dutch art. Moreover, a careful study of any period of which fairly full records are available—such as the Dutch seventeenth century or the Florentine fifteenth century—will show that the whole situation and atmosphere of contemporary art changed then from decade to decade and even from year to year just as it does today. It is no more likely that the period from 1600 to 1630 passed as a simple slow transition than that the years 1900 to 1930 did so. Within this period of the seventeenth century fell the life work of an active generation of such Dutch painters as Gillis van Coninxloo, David Vinckboons, Willem Buytewech, Roelant Savery, Esaias and Jan van de Velde, Adriaen van de Venne and Hercules Seghers, as well as several decades of the life of Frans Hals and the formative years of van Goyen and Rembrandt.

During these forty years the old international outlook of mannerism, with its sculptural style and generalized literary and mythological themes, gave way to Dutch realism with its study of individuality, of nature and of atmospheric tone. But it is too simple an explanation if we suppose that the southern elements of formal taste simply faded away, leaving an instinctive native realism at work. For the southern formal influence continued to make itself felt all through the seventeenth century. There was always near at hand the powerful Flemish school with Rubens at its head; nor was Dutch art ever out of touch with the great Italian centers of baroque development. There was no time during the entire seventeenth century when some Dutch artist was not setting out on, or returning from, a journey of study to Italy. The



*Fig. 1. DAVID VINCKBOONS, The Troubles of the Peasants
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum*



*Fig. 2. DAVID VINCKBOONS, The Musical Beggar
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum*



*Fig. 3. GILLIS VAN CONINXLOO, Forest Landscape
Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum*

rise of Amsterdam as a great art market and auction place also meant that the Dutch artists at home could always see the greatest works of Italian Renaissance and baroque art.² In the period in question, 1600-1630, the influence of Flemish art was very strong in Holland, for it was not only exerted from Flanders by the great works of Rubens and his school but within the country itself by the migration of a large number of Flemish-born artists into Holland after the destruction of Antwerp's prosperity by the wars. And the influence of mannerism was not yet spent when a fresh and very powerful wave of influence of the Roman baroque was brought back to Amsterdam by Pieter Lastman and to Utrecht by Hendrick Ter Bruggen and Gerard Honthorst. Yet Dutch painting was developing with such energy during these decades that Flemish and Italian forms were promptly absorbed and crowded into the background by new conceptions of art arising in Holland.

The positive force coming forward was the discovery of nature, which (and not in art alone) was one of the great events of the seventeenth century. An interest in nature had been growing since the end of the middle ages, but it was the seventeenth century which made the great step forward that changed the whole tone of European life. Realism in art and the study of nature by science went side by side. This was the century of Galileo, Descartes, Huyghens and Newton, which Whitehead calls the Century of Genius. The western world discovered that the simplest and most familiar aspects of nature are the source of profound intellectual truth and by scientific observation discovered most of the fundamental laws—from the law of gravity to the nature of light and shadow—which have since been the basis of our understanding of the physical universe. The realistic movement in Dutch art corresponds in the field of emotional experience to this intellectual advance toward an entirely new understanding of the simple reality about us. Realism was not a simple thing. It was an exceedingly complex movement carried on by three generations of men of genius, and passed through several distinct stages. The atmosphere in which it began is the question that concerns us here. It is an impression which I hope to substantiate by the illustrations to follow, that the first stage, lasting from about 1600 to 1630, was more than a transition. Rich in powerful and positive personalities, it had a character of its own, which I hesitate to call *romantic* only because the word has such strong asso-

ciations with the early nineteenth century that it is difficult to detach it from this one age. Yet, properly qualified, the word seems also to suggest the qualities of the generation we are discussing.

I define classicism³, apart from the influence of literature, as the tendency to follow the clarifying and unifying lead of the intellect toward the norm of an experience, to seek the generalization that lies at the center of our range of sensibility and to find forms of expression of a generalized and timeless nature; and romanticism as the opposing tendency to push outward to the frontiers of experience, toward the strange, the individual, the marvelous, the intensely personal, to follow the lead of the emotions toward a dramatic and spontaneous expression. In the nineteenth century, after the ideal paintings of David and his school, who erected their art upon sculptural models and the classic generalizations, the romantic reaction took two forms: on the one hand, to plunge into a moody, dramatic world of remote, fabulous and exciting fancies, on the other to study intensively the mood and individuality of human beings and the unreasoning, instinctive life of nature. The former tendency found expression in the adventurous battle subjects of Gros and in the wild legendary tragedies and struggles of men and animals painted by Géricault and Delacroix. The second tendency took the shape of the romantic realism of Constable's and Corot's landscapes, the work of the *animaliers* and the humorous and satiric genre of Daumier, Wilkie and Spitzweg. In portraiture the transition from classic to romantic feeling was shown in a change from the static, monumental and austere generalized portraits of David to Delacroix's portraiture of mood. The course followed by the realistic impulse in nineteenth century painting, as it freed itself from the classic taste, offers many interesting suggestions to the student of the realistic impulse in Dutch painting. From the romantic excitement and sentiment of its first discovery of nature, it passed to a serene objective realism in mid-course and finally was transmuted into the architectonic taste of Post-Impressionism. Realism passed through a roughly similar course in the seventeenth century.

Let us say at once that in the nineteenth century the dominance of literature gave to the romantic movement a character quite unlike anything to be found in Dutch painting. The seventeenth century romanticism was by definition more objective, more formal and more concrete

than that of the nineteenth century, for the earlier century was not only less egocentric and lyrical but its technical powers were adequate to carry its ideas to full pictorial expression as the later age was never able to do. If one thinks of *romanticism* in terms of the groping, nebulous and incomplete character of nineteenth century art, in an era swayed by vague tides of feeling which the plastic arts were never wholly able to contain, one will find no parallel in the seventeenth.

But like France in the early nineteenth century, Holland in 1600 was a new society which had sprung from a long period of revolution and warfare. It was not a disillusioned society like that of the France of 1814, but it had been bred upon scenes of war, and was familiar with the swashbuckling manners of military life. It had a taste for scenes of adventure, violence and riot, a liking for the swagger and gayety of the guardroom as well as for the raffishness and melancholy of the seamy side of life. Later in the century wars were fought at a greater distance and by a mercenary army. But the old men of 1600 were the young volunteers in the heroic days of the defense of Leiden and the siege of Antwerp, when such men as the poet and burgomaster, Sainte-Aldegonde, and the statesman, Olden-Barneveldt, fought among the soldiers on narrow, slippery dike-tops among the Flemish floods against the Spanish and Italian regiments of Farnese. Experiences like these cannot fail to leave their impression upon the character of a generation. While these experiences did not determine the course which art was to take, nevertheless, if we find in this period a new sympathy for life close to earth, one may say that it may well have arisen from the fact that a generation of the burghers and intellectuals of the Dutch towns had lived the open air life of camp and field.

The first thing that indicates the character of this age is its choice of subjects. The period of 1600-30 was remarkable for a rebirth of landscape, in contrast to the dominance of figure painting in the preceding quarter century. Some of the landscape painting was a direct, intuitive exploration of nature in the best tradition of romantic realism, while other artists treated nature in the spirit of fantasy or of romantic anecdote. The period was also remarkable for a taste for genre subjects, in which peasants, fishermen, sailors, beggars and even brigands, played as prominent a part as cavaliers and ladies. There was also a sudden interest in the purely instinctive life of animals, birds, insects

and plants, which found expression in a remarkable generation of animal and still life painters. Two other themes are especially important in this period. One is the great development of the portrait (that is, of an interest in personality) which passed through a rapid and important evolution. The other is the great popularity of mythological and biblical pictures inspired by Roman baroque painting. These baroque narratives were, however, confined largely to the schools of Amsterdam, The Hague and Utrecht. The new style of figure painting and the small landscapes and genre scenes which were the expression of realistic taste, developed in Haarlem and to a lesser extent in Amsterdam. Finally, while it would be an exaggeration to say that the seventeenth century ever felt any form of introspection such as characterized the nineteenth century romantics, this was none the less a period in which Dutch painting showed a marked dramatic quality and a restless vitality which in some artists rose to the highest degree of emotional excitement.

There is some literary evidence that artists were aware of a change of taste at about 1600. Van Mander, who is a good example of mannerist feeling, complains more than once (in his biographies of Mierevelt and Geerit Pieters, for instance) that there was then (1604) so little demand for figure compositions that good painters had to spend their time painting portraits, in which he repeats the complaint uttered so often by adherents of monumental figure painting in America a hundred years ago. And in contrast to his confident praise of men like Goltzius and Cornelis van Haarlem, he prefaces his biography of Vinckboons with an apology, in which he explains that if he saw that collectors of art liked an artist, he would include him in the belief that his own judgment should bow to general opinion, leaving a plain implication that he himself had no taste for the fellow's work.

But if one can judge by the number of reproductions of his works, David Vinckboons (1576-1629) was, as L. Burchard has pointed out, the most popular of Dutch painters in the early 1600's.⁴ His small landscapes crowded with figures are not only the most important genre paintings done in Amsterdam at this time but are very often in a vein of savage, satirical feeling which show very clearly the influence of scenes of war and violence upon Dutch life. One of his paintings in the Rijksmuseum (No. 2556) (Fig. 1) represents a group of soldiers and their women feasting in the house of a peasant. One of the gaily-

plumed soldiers is beating a peasant for not bringing a better choice of his produce, while the soldier's wife pulls the poor man's hair; the peasant's wife is sitting weeping in the corner. In the next picture (No. 2557) the maddened peasants have seized axes, clubs and daggers and are driving the soldiers from the house. Both scenes are pervaded by a fierce, cruel spirit. There is caricature but there is nothing humorous or sympathetic in this aspect of Vinckboons' genre.

Another of Vinckboons' pictures in the Rijksmuseum (No. 2557a) (Fig. 2) shows a blind, old beggar with a rommelpot, led by a dog through the street of a village. He is a horrible, shambling figure but not less horrible than the crowd of shouting, jeering children that troop around him. At the right a bearded peasant is butchering a pig while another troop of children caper around him and yell with delight at the sight. There is all the riot and grotesquerie of Old Bruegel but without Bruegel's humor. Vinckboons' mood is one of pure bitterness: these are your fine human beings, he seems to say. One feels sorry for the beggar's dog, an honest little animal surrounded by a pack of savage human beings.

Vinckboons is one of the leaders of the Flemish element which went into the formation of Dutch seventeenth century painting. He was born in Malines and worked first in Antwerp, leaving the ruined southern city for the rising northern metropolis of Amsterdam in 1591. But only in a very superficial way can his art be considered a continuation of the Flemish genre style of Pieter Bruegel the Younger and Lucas van Valckenborch. In his *Musical Beggar* he begins to draw toward the richer and more painterlike manner which was to take the place of the bright local colors, the even lighting and clear outlines of the sixteenth century style. The touch is soft and liquid. Outlines of the important figures melt into a warm, dark, atmospheric tone, from which a few spots of light color shine out as accents. The enamel-like Flemish style begins to be transformed by the study of atmosphere which was to characterize Dutch realism. But there is another significant break with the art of the preceding generation, in the intensity of the inner life which Vinckboons communicated to his figures. Flemish genre, as it developed from Pieter Bruegel in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, becomes generalized into an idyll of country life. Its people and forms of nature were types; its subjects the generalized subjects of

the seasons, kirmesses and rustic festivals which are as old as pastoral poetry. This is true also of the occasional genre scenes of the Dutch mannerists. Their sometimes very coarse naturalism of detail exists within the frame of a smooth generalization of life. But now, in the early years of the seventeenth century, a current of intense and passionate feeling begins to flow through Vinckboons' people, waking them to a new degree of psychic life. That inner life, though dramatic, is still a simple and undifferentiated flood. Vinckboons did not make a clean break with mannerism. His landscapes and people are still generalized. But the artist's vision of both man and nature is sharpened by a strong, bitter and immediate sense of life.

Vinckboons painted these three pictures in the mood of disillusionment and bitterness familiar to us as expressions of a post-war generation. He is the leading exemplar of this strain in Dutch art; but violent and sadistic subjects—highway robberies, battles, fights between drunken peasants—occur also in the work of Esaias van de Velde (Rijksmuseum No. 2450a), Jacob van Geel (Detroit), Adriaen van de Venne (Rijksmuseum No. 2504) and, of course, Adriaen Brouwer, who was Flemish but received his training in Haarlem. It is noticeable that this mood of bitterness does not extend beyond the thirties. Ostade imitated in his earliest works of the '30's the wild riot of Brouwer's peasants but very quickly changed to the mood of genial good humor characteristic of his generation; while Dutch genre after 1650 is serene and even elegant. And if Jan Steen in this later generation did illustrate with great frankness the coarser manners of the time, there was nothing dark or bitter in his spirit, but rather a magnificent and all-embracing delight in humanity that is vigorous, healthy and even noble.

At the close of the sixteenth century a drift toward greater directness and the study of nature was noticeable within mannerism itself⁵. Carel van Mander speaks in his *Principles* (*Den Grondt*) of taking Nature as the highest teacher. But nature seemed for him, as it was for the French classicists, at its best in the art of the antique and the great Italians. Landscape, to the mannerists, was something to be managed, ordered into a formal composition, and given tone by a mythological or biblical anecdote. Even van Mander's kirmesses, coarse as they frequently are in detail, are "idylls" or generalizations of nature as

much as the *Bucolics* and *Georgics* of Virgil which he translated in 1597. In the next decade landscape turned away from this classic tone.

In 1595, four years after Vinckboons, there arrived in Amsterdam another Flemish immigrant, Gillis van Coninxloo, who was to become the first unquestioned leader of Dutch landscape painting. The importance of Coninxloo in Dutch painting about 1600, to which van Mander bears very plain testimony, is not reflected in the collections of our museums or the writings in English upon Dutch art. Van Mander puts him unmistakably at the head of the Dutch landscape school and speaks of the great number of his followers and imitators⁶. A curious and eloquent evidence of his importance in the eyes of artists is offered by the records of the sale of his effects after his death (1607) when there gathered at his house "every one who had anything to do with art at this time in Amsterdam, old and young, famous and obscure".⁷ These records are very nearly a directory of the artists, dealers and patrons of the city.

In his youth Coninxloo had painted panoramic landscapes in the idyllic and decorative manner of the mannerist generation. In Amsterdam he broke away from the panoramic style—not toward the intimate and domestic realism of the 1630's, but toward a dream world of the mysterious and awe-inspiring in nature. I have already described in this magazine⁸ his extraordinary *Forest Landscape* (Fig. 3) in Vienna. This majestic group of giant trees, whose solemnity is emphasized by the shy, furtive movement of the birds hiding in their leaves and the beasts that glide silently among their trunks, is a poetic vision of the primeval wilderness as it presented itself to Coninxloo's imagination. To achieve such haunting poetry of nature Coninxloo modified the sixteenth century Flemish technique of landscape toward atmospheric tone in the same direction that Vinckboons had drawn the style of genre. His early works have a formal order characteristic of the sixteenth century. The *Judgment of Midas* in Dresden, for example, is an ordered vista to the horizon, flanked and marked off by masses of trees and rocks projecting from either side like the wings of stage scenery. A group of figures is placed as a focus part way down this vista. The light is evenly diffused and distance is indicated by three receding color bands of brown, green and blue. In his later work he substituted an effect of casual nature for that of a formal vista and developed a

style of light and shadow and of atmospheric tone. Yet he did not simply go to nature and paint what he found, as a coming generation was to do. The ideal conception of landscape faded slowly. The desire behind Coninxloo's change of style was not to paint the fields and rivers of north Holland but to evoke a poetic atmosphere of wonder and solemnity. Dutch seventeenth century landscape began with his reveries upon the grandeur of nature and the mystery of its strange life, which are the first notable expressions of a new and to my mind romantic sensibility.

The Flemish strain which Vinckboons and Coninxloo represent, was an important one in this formative period of Dutch art. There were many refugees from the southern Netherlands, while the direct influence of Rubens and Jan Breughel continued to be strongly felt until about 1615 or even later. Pieter Stalpaert, the two Saverys, Gillis d'Hondecoeter, Adriaen van de Venne, Willem van den Bundel, Alexander Keirinex, Willem van Nieulandt, and last and greatest, Hercules Seghers, all belong to this strain of influence.

But from 1600 onward Flemish forms and technique were transformed by the new sensibility in many different ways. One of the most conspicuous elements of romantic sensibility is an interest in the life of simple man living close to the earth. "The lowly train in life's sequestered scene" as Burns put it in *The Cotter's Saturday Night*, may be treated by romantic artists either with humor or without, but always as an idyll of the life of nature. Wordsworth expressed this in the introductory lines of *Michael* that speak

Of those domestic tales that spoke to me
Of shepherds, dwellers in the valleys, men
Whom I already loved; not verily
For their own sakes, but for the fields and hills
Where was their occupation and abode.

And, similarly, idylls of life in the forest and in the mountain valleys where the ancient simplicities prevail, appear in Dutch art with Roelant Savery (Born at Courtrai, 1576; died at Utrecht, 1639). Savery was a transplanted southerner from Courtrai in Flanders. He studied in Amsterdam with his brother Jacques Savery and with Hans Bol, the mannerist landscape painter, and thus took his point of departure from the decorative, formally composed landscape of the sixteenth century.



Fig. 4. ROELANT SAVERY, Mountain Landscape with Travelers, 1608. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum



*Fig. 5. ROELANT SAVERY, Still Life with Flowers and Insects
Utrecht, Centraal Museum*

But in 1604 he went to Prague to enter the service of the art-loving Emperor Rudolf II who sent him for two years (1606-07) into the Tyrol to study the mountains. His *Mountain Landscape with Travelers*, painted in 1608, (Fig. 4) is one of the earliest of the many landscapes based upon this tour. It is a charming medley of poetic feeling, humor, direct observation and the dream-world of romantic fancy. How many times since have artists been attracted by this same kind of scene—a mountain defile with the highroad winding down beside the torrent to a distant valley and town, with travelers on horseback or foot trudging past, giving a suggestion of the far lands to which their road will lead them. The pleasure and fascination of travel is here painted for the first time; for while the same sort of scene is foreshadowed in Pieter Bruegel and the earlier landscapists, it only here escaped from the field of biblical parable clearly into the range of an experience enjoyed for its own sake. A detail like the woodpecker tapping at the dry bark of an old, moss grown spruce which stands at the right of the picture is the kind of detail that reveals a vivid personal experience. As Houbraken puts it, "There befell him (Savery) the good fortune that Kaiser Rudolf happened to see his work . . . took him into his service and gave him an opportunity to travel with a gentleman in the Tyrol, to draw all the handsome views of landscapes and waterfalls from the life; and he impressed upon himself the nature and manner of things by constant contemplation" (I, 56). Yet at the same time Savery is linked with the old tradition of Patinir and Bles in his generalized manner and in his conception of a landscape as a wide panorama contained in a minute format, so that his innovations are rather in the field of sensibility than of form.

In this respect he represents a transitional stage. It is the same stage, to use a literary parallel, held in English romantic poetry by Burns. One may use the example of Burns also to illustrate another aspect of romantic sensibility. In his poems *To a Mouse, on turning up her nest with the plough, November, 1785*, and *To a Mountain Daisy, on turning one down with the plough, in April, 1786*, Burns revealed a sympathy for the purely instinctive life of animals and of nature which is one of the greatest contributions of romanticism. Burns records even the date when his plough sent the "wee, sleekit, cowrin, tim'rous beastie" running from its nest, as a man might set down the date of an accident

to a friend or the destruction of a town, and he apologizes to the mouse as to an equal:

I'm truly sorry man's dominion
Has broken nature's social union,
An' justifies that ill opinion
Which makes thee startle
At me, thy poor earth-born companion,
And fellow mortal.

The part played by animals in romantic art is too well known to need comment. My point here is that, a century and a half earlier than Burns and from a different point of view, Savery illustrates the awakening of a similar interest. The fantastic animal pictures which made him so popular in his own time have sometimes a tiny figure or two, representing Orpheus or Adam and Eve (Fig. 6) to give the picture a name. But their real subject is the artist's intense delight in animals, which bursts out in an astonishing display of birds and beasts, wild and tame, familiar and exotic, all bounding or flying about with intense life and animation. Under the influence of Jan Breughel, Savery also painted in the same mood flower still lifes of a kind wholly characteristic of that age and unlike any painted since. His *Still Life with Flowers and Insects* in Utrecht, done in the first decade of the century (Fig. 5), is typical of the extraordinary animation which he communicated even to flowers. What other age has produced such an inventive idea of still life, decorative and formal, yet crowded with the strange and multitudinous life of nature? Beetles, flies, moths, butterflies, lizards, creep in and out of his compositions not as specimens but as living creatures animated by their own inner existence. The flowers have a glowing gayety like a whole springtime harvest of bloom. It may perhaps be significant that Savery's first great patron was a thorough case of romantic eccentricity—the fantastic, solitary Emperor Rudolf, who shut himself in a great castle at Prague with a court of astrologers, alchemists and grooms, and padded about the corridors of the palace leading his pet lion Ottokar on a chain. This curious figure, the prey of all kinds of illusions and fears, who ignored his nobles, kept envoys waiting years for an audience and made friends of his stable boys, had a menagerie in the dry moat of the castle and the finest aviary of



*Fig. 6. ROELANT SAVERY, Paradise
Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum*



*Fig. 7. HANS VREDEMAN DE VRIES, Fantastic Palace. 1602
Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum*



*Fig. 8. FRANS HALS, Banquet of the Officers of the St. Joris-doelen. 1615-16
Haarlem, Frans Hals Museum*

Europe; and in his gardens, it is said, grew the first tulips brought from the East.

It is significant of the taste of the time that Savery's excited, profuse, brilliant rhapsodies in praise of the multiplicity and wonder of nature were very popular. In the Netherlands after his return he was a highly regarded and successful artist. The city of Utrecht in 1626 purchased one of his pictures to give to the Princess Amalia von Solms as a wedding present, although there were at this time in the city not only Abraham Bloemaert, an outstanding representative of the old mannerism, but important representatives of the new wave of Italian baroque influence in Ter Bruggen (who entered the guild in 1616 after his return from Italy) and Honthorst (who returned with a spectacular tenebrist style in 1622). It throws a significant light upon the taste of the 1620's that the passionate and intense art of Savery was preferred before the magnificent but rather cold paintings of these Italianate painters. Furthermore, Savery is not an isolated figure but serves as representative of a whole group of animal and flower painters active and popular at this time.⁹

The excitement and fantasy apparent in these paintings is characteristic of the period. The fantasy of Savery sometimes borders upon the chimerical and grotesque. (Some of his pictures are indeed the products of an imagination run wild, for he died insane.) They are part of a tendency to give nature personality and mood, to which also belong the mossy, hoary forests in the paintings of Jacob van Geel and the astonishing, haunting visions of Hercules Seghers. One of van Geel's landscapes, in which a highway robbery is taking place beneath a grove of gnarled, fantastic trees, was reproduced in this magazine, Volume I (1938), p. 191. We know so little of van Geel's origin or training that it is impossible to say whether or not he came into direct contact with Coninxloo or Seghers. He illustrates, however, the presence of the new sensibility even in Middleburg, which was artistically a backward and isolated city.

Another instance of the dreamlike and fantastic note which we are pursuing is offered by the paintings and engravings of the great Dutch architect, Hans Vredeman de Vries (1527-1606). He was born at Leeuwarden in Friesland, but was active also in Malines and Antwerp, and after an extended stay in various cities of Germany during the religious

wars, returned to the Netherlands about the beginning of our period to end his days in Amsterdam and The Hague. His great book, *Perspectiva*, was published in 1601; his paintings also belong to the closing years of his life in Holland. The fantastic palace of 1602 (Fig. 7) is as handsome as it is astounding an example of his imaginative architectural compositions. The inventiveness of a great baroque architect in effects of space, freed in painting from the limitations of construction and practical use, rises here into a kind of dazzling and dizzying dream. In his works, and in those of his son, Paul (1567-1630), and his follower, Henrick Aerts (active in Amsterdam about 1600), the Dutch genre of architectural painting began with visions of the romantic splendor of architecture, in which the sublime, the astonishing and the delightful are profusely and fascinatingly mingled.

The preceding artists form a first phase of the transition from mannerism to realism. In their paintings the style of the sixteenth century was modified by the appearance of a new sensibility. The moods of excitement, reverie and fantasy introduced by them, coupled with an increasingly close study of nature, form the opening phase of romantic sentiment; but their work was not yet wholly detached from the generalizations of mannerist style. There followed rapidly a second stage in which a new technique was created to express the new sensibility. The change came with a turn to the direct observation of nature, which carried away the last traces of the sixteenth century manner.

The new movement was created in Haarlem by Frans Hals and a group of genre and landscape artists, mostly pupils of Gillis van Coninxloo come over from Amsterdam: Willem Buytewech, Dirk Hals, Esaias van de Velde, Jan van de Velde, Hercules Seghers and Jan van Goyen. The last two only touched the fringe of the movement. Seghers left Haarlem in 1614 before it had properly begun. Van Goyen came into it very young as a pupil of Esaias van de Velde and developed slowly. When he assumed importance it was as creator of the attitude of objective realism which came in the 1630's to succeed the first romantic phase.

Undoubtedly an influence of the Roman baroque realism of Elsheimer reached Haarlem in the prints of Hendrik Goudt, which from 1608 onward spread abroad in the Netherlands a knowledge of Elsheimer's poetic and carefully observed landscapes. But the new movement



Fig. 9. HENDRICK GOLTZIUS, *Mercury*. 1611
Haarlem, Frans Hals Museum



Fig. 10. FRANS HALS, *Banquet of the Officers of the St. Joris-doelen* (detail)
Haarlem, Frans Hals Museum



Fig. 11. JACOB DE GHEYN, *Four Heads* (drawing)
The Detroit Institute of Arts



Fig. 12. WILLEM BUYTENECH, *Cavalier* (drawing)
Haarlem, F. Koening

resembled Elsheimer's work neither in spirit nor technique. J. G. van Gelder¹⁰ has recently pointed out also the importance of Claes Jansz Visscher, the Amsterdam graphic artist, who continued the realistic study of landscape in his drawings from the point Coninxloo had reached, and had an influence upon the coming landscapists of Haarlem.

But it is only just to say that the first great, positive expression of new ideas appeared in the first portraits by Frans Hals preserved to us (1610-11) and that the possibilities of realism burst upon the other young painters of the group, who had originally been drawn to Haarlem by the fame of the great mannerist, Goltzius¹¹, precisely in the years 1615 and 1616 when Hals was painting his first huge group picture, *The Banquet of the Officers of the St. Joris-doelen* (Fig. 8). Hals' picture was something unprecedented. I believe it would be difficult to exaggerate its importance in Dutch art. There had been group portraits in Holland for a hundred years past but there had never been anything like this. It brought into art a vivid perception of the psychic life of the individual, expressed in the movement and lit by the animation of all that is characteristic of him—eyes, face, hands, gestures, posture, relation to his fellows. And for all this Hals found a new pictorial style which has never been surpassed for either physical reality or dramatic life. Two of the most famous painters in the mannerist style, Goltzius and Cornelis van Haarlem, were at work in Haarlem at this time. The significance of Hals' new technique may be seen by a comparison of his group with Goltzius' *Mercury* of 1611 (Fig. 9). A hand in Goltzius' picture is a statuesque, motionless form. A hand in Hals' new masterpiece is a hand in action, revealing by its subtle movement an instant of the stream of life. The mannerists modeled form as did Jacques-Louis David and his school—in full light, with clear, continuous enclosing outlines and carefully rounded, almost polished surfaces which represent in the case of both schools the reflection of sculptural prototypes. Hals set up a new conception of form created by swift, angular brushstrokes, making planes of light and shadow whose interplay creates an image of the light playing over the form, not the form itself (Fig. 10). This painterlike conception of form (the term *schilderachtig* became the Dutch painter's highest term of praise) has been too well described by Woelfflin¹² and Burchard¹³ to need description here. I wish only to call attention to the fact that in

Hals' new technique we have another parallel with the romantic movement of the nineteenth century. For the problem set before themselves by the romantic figure painters, with Delacroix and Corot at their head, was also to find a painterlike expression of form and to create a portraiture of mood.

It must have been overwhelmingly exciting for the little group of young artists who were, so to speak, in at the creation to see Hals' huge, glowing masterpiece take shape, unfolding upon a heroic scale a new conception of art and a new pictorial form. When it was completed, a new era of art had begun. During the same two years, 1615 and 1616, while Hals' masterpiece was being executed, the novel conception of studying nature with the utmost exactness to find a profound inner life and meaning, was carried by the young men around Hals into landscape and genre, into drawing and etching. The whole outburst took place in about two years and as soon as it had occurred, in 1617 the group began to break up.

What happens when a group of young and talented men strike out a new direction of thought and a new technique, we can surmise from similar instances in more recent times. It is certainly a very complicated relationship. There is mutual encouragement and influence; ideas seem to spring out of the common atmosphere without being traceable to any one alone; all together play a part though it may prove later that some have more strength than others to pursue the new idea to the end. So perhaps it happened in Haarlem. The group was quickly scattered. Dirk Hals remained in Haarlem to found the school of guardroom genre painters. Buytewech went to Rotterdam about 1617 and died in 1627. Esaias van de Velde went to the Hague in 1618 and died in 1630. Van Goyen went to Leiden in 1617 but did not develop his characteristic style until after 1630. Seghers was back in Amsterdam by 1614, before the decisive development occurred, and died before 1638. Only Frans Hals lived to old age and continued to develop along the original line, following a full and grand evolution.

The important question is, what was the atmosphere and tone of feeling in this explosion of energy? I think the answer is, it was one of intense and passionate excitement, caused by the discovery of new and hitherto unsuspected spiritual values within the plain reality of men and nature. This was accompanied by a magnificent *joie de vivre*,

but it contained also tragic and fantastic strains, as well as one of fresh and lyrical study of landscape. In all these respects, except the *joie de vivre*, it was akin to the romantic sensibility of the 1820's. This atmosphere of excitement was of brief duration in Holland; in the 1630's it gave way to the next phase of serene and calm realism.

The transformation of figure painting made by Hals on a large scale, was carried out in genre painting, drawing and etching by Willem Buytewech (c. 1585-c. 1627), who was in Haarlem from 1612 to 1617 and worked in the closest intimacy with Hals¹⁴. In the decade before he met Hals he was doing etchings which show the strong influence of Rubens. His style was plastic and sculptural, the conception of human nature generalized and abstract¹⁵. Suddenly, about 1615-16, he blossomed into the dashing spontaneous style represented by the *Cavalier* (drawing) (Fig. 12) in the Koenigs collection. The distinguishing quality of his drawings, as Dr. Valentiner once put it too concisely to be bettered, was *esprit*¹⁶. This young cockerel about to crow—this Mercutio in the streets of Verona or d'Artagnan catching sight of a pretty woman, a friend, an enemy—is a perfect embodiment of that quality. *Esprit* is the rarest quality of Dutch art but it appeared here in that little circle in Haarlem. The transformation of graphic technique can be seen by comparing this drawing with a drawing of *Four beads* by de Gheyn (Fig. 11) in the mannerist style. De Gheyn's pen strokes follow carefully the contours of the forms. A sculptural conception rules. Buytewech's wiry, angular strokes create planes of light and shadow, among whose rapid interplay the exact form disappears and a free chiaroscuro results.

Buytewech's drawings and etchings (even more than his paintings, in which he initiated but did not pursue his new conception of life) are the expression of a new kind of sensibility exploring the world of human life and of nature. In its fire and spontaneity that sensibility seems to me essentially romantic. The landscape etching (Fig. 14) from the series executed 1616-21 is a kind of absolute break with the old formula of observing landscape. It is as if Buytewech had achieved a complete innocence of eye and were seeing nature for the first time with the joy of a discoverer. In this quality, as well as in the extraordinary energy of the line and brilliance of the light, these etchings make one think of Van Gogh's drawings.

In what is probably his last etching, the *Bathsheba* (Fig. 13), Buytewech posed a problem of light and form for this medium which required the genius of Rembrandt for its full solution. The sculptural conception of the earlier etching technique, in which the line followed the contours of the form, gives way to a style of short, stiff hatchings which create a painterlike play of light and shadow over the form. The dramatic quality of this work, its psychological freedom, its brilliance and excitement, speak for themselves even after three hundred years of later development have dulled the novelty of this magnificent invention.

Buytewech's type of figure painting was carried on with distinctly less talent by Dirk Hals (1591-1656) and a whole school of swashbuckling genre painters. The artists of this school appeared in nearly every city, painting the life of the carousing, quarreling soldiery of the mercenary regiments which formed so prominent an element in the life of this warring century. There were Hendrick Pot, Jan Miense Molenaer and Judith Leyster in Haarlem; Pieter Codde, Willem Duyster, Simon Kick, Isaac Elyas in Amsterdam; Jacob Duck in Utrecht; the two Palamedes and Jan van Velsen in Delft; Jan Olis in Dordrecht; Dirk Cletcher in The Hague. One of the most interesting is Willem Cornelisz Duyster, who was active in Amsterdam from about 1625 to about 1635. He presents the peculiar and characteristically romantic spectacle of an artist of highly refined sensibility delighting in raffish, melancholy, violent and tragic scenes. His *Soldiers Fighting over the Division of the Booty* (Fig. 16) is painted with a delicacy of color and refinement of touch that reveal an artist of exquisite and subtle taste. But his imagination was one which dwelt by choice in the shadows of human life.

The romantic conception of figure painting—of dramatic movement realistically observed, individuality lit by animation, instantaneous expression and mood embodied in a free, painterlike style—was more quickly developed than the corresponding conceptions in genre and landscape. Next to Buytewech the most important figure in the new movement was Esaias van de Velde (c. 1590-1630). He was a pupil of Gillis van Coninxloo in Amsterdam, who moved to Haarlem in 1610 and became a member of the guild there in 1612, the same year as Seghers and Buytewech. In 1618 he went to The Hague, where he subsequently



Fig. 13. WILLEM BUYTEWECH, *Bathsheba* (etching)



Fig. 14. WILLEM BUYTEWECH, *Landscape* (etching)
Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Print room



Fig. 15. ESAIAS VAN DE VELDE, *View of Wesel*. 1625
Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum



Fig. 16. WILLEM CORNELISZ DUYSER, *Soldiers Fighting over the Division of the Booty*. Dresden, Staatliche Gemälde-Galerie

received the patronage of Prince Maurice and Prince Frederick Henry. His genre paintings and etchings are close to Buytewech's, although rather less advanced in technique. They begin in 1614 and 1615 with pictures of banquet parties in the open air (Mauritshuis and Rijksmuseum) closely related to the earlier work of Buytewech. In the development of landscape he holds an important place both by his own work and by having been the teacher of Jan van Goyen. Although he always retained something of the strong local color characteristic of the sixteenth century landscape, in some of his landscapes of the 1620's, like the famous *Ferry* (1622) in the Rijksmuseum or the *View of Wesel* (1625) in Berlin (Fig. 15), he made innovations which really transform the character of landscape and especially transformed its attitude toward nature. It is not only that in this little picture atmospheric tone already predominates over local color and realistic observation takes the place of a generalized style. More important still, the artist who painted this picture went to nature in the mood of a disciple rather than of a master. Nature was a raw material to the mannerists, upon which they imposed their own conception of formal, decorative order. Van de Velde's desire was to study the mood of nature and to make his expression of it simple, direct and self-effacing. This is the same fundamental change which separates eighteenth century landscape from the romantic landscape of the early nineteenth century. Wilson and Fragonard imposed their own general harmonies of form upon nature. Constable and Corot went to nature to paint what they found there, studying with patient devotion to catch the character of a bit of Suffolk or the Campagna.

The possibility of discovering themes for painting in the homely character of the Dutch countryside and people was one of the great discoveries of the Haarlem school. The prints of Jan van de Velde (c. 1593-after 1641) did much to spread the taste for these new subjects. He was a prolific artist whose dated prints range from 1615 and include the compositions of all the other Haarlem realists as well as those of his own invention. His landscape prints retain the somewhat anecdotal character of his teacher Jakob Matham and the older generation, but their sturdy, simple, natural poetry (Fig. 17) is not without its eloquence.

Hercules Seghers is a figure of paramount importance for this movement. In any period his pictures would be outstanding examples

of the landscape of mood. We know little of "the unhappy Hercules Seghers," as Houbraken calls him, but enough to recognize a being of passionate and intense sensibility. He was born in Haarlem about 1589/90 and studied in Amsterdam under Gillis van Coninxloo. In 1612 he entered the guild in Haarlem but by 1614 at the latest he was back in Amsterdam. In 1615 he married a woman of forty (he was twenty-five). Sometime after 1623 he was married again in The Hague to Cornelia de Witte. He was in Utrecht for a short time about 1629. In 1638 Cornelia de Witte is described as a widow. Houbraken quotes Hoogstraten as saying that Seghers "blossomed or rather withered in his first green years," and tells the story of his invention of colored etchings, of the lack of understanding for his art with all the consequent wretchedness of the artist and his family. "At length he finally made a plate in which he achieved his utmost flight, and offered it for a little sum to an art dealer in Amsterdam, but it did him no good, for his work was not in demand; yes, notwithstanding that he represented that each print would, after his death, be worth more than he asked for the plate. . . . After he had taken the plate back to his house and had made some prints from it, he cut it to pieces. And the poor Hercules took one thing and another so to heart that, disconsolate and without any counsel, he sought to drown his sorrows in wine, and one evening having drunk beyond his habit, he came home, fell from the stair, and died."

There is no documentary proof that he visited the valley of the Meuse or the Alps, although Hofstede de Groot has attempted to reconstruct the course of such a journey from his etchings¹⁷, but the origin of his knowledge of mountain defiles, moss-grown evergreens, and views from the heights over wide plains below, is less important than the strange and deeply impressive quality of the images he wove out of these impressions (Fig. 18). The ideal landscape of the sixteenth century was transformed by his remarkable sensibility and painterlike (*schilderachtig*) technique into a fantastic landscape of mood. His extraordinary experiments in the technique of both painting and etching in order to achieve that quality of mood, and the strong influence of his work upon Rembrandt's work in both media, are well known.

But in addition to those wild and sombre fantasies, in which the earth seems tossed by some incalculable force into enormous waves of brown



Fig. 17. JAN VAN DE VELDE, *Spring*, 1617 (engraving)

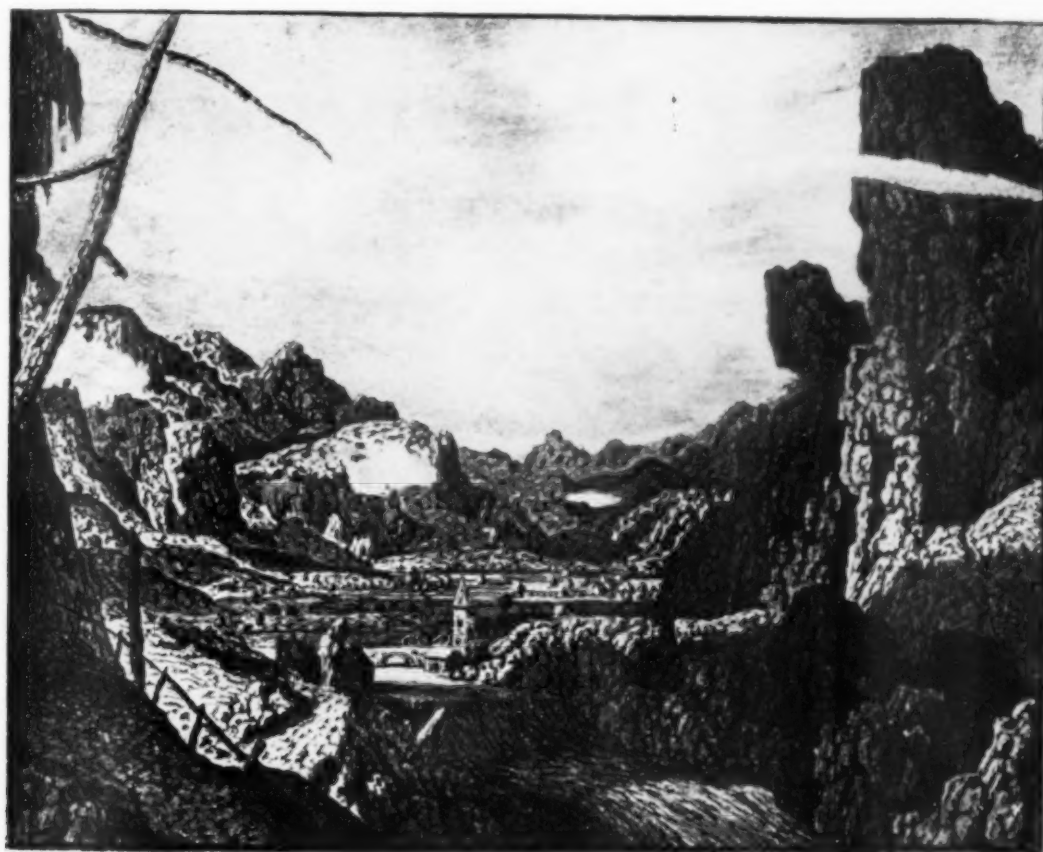


Fig. 18. HERCULES SEGHERS, *Das Obere Reussthal*
Dresden, Kupferstich Kabinet



*Fig. 19. HERCULES SEGHERS, Romantic Landscape
Almelo, H. E. Ten Cate*

bleached rock, Seghers also shared the new conception of realistic observation. The two landscapes with a view of Rhenen, in Berlin, and numbers of his etchings are definitely studies of real places. So also is the charming little landscape representing a hillside covered with blossoming fruit trees, in the Johnson collection, Philadelphia. This latter picture is closely related in style to the great *Romantic Landscape* (Fig. 19) in the Ten Cate collection, at Almelo in the Netherlands, which is the most important document from Seghers' middle years (1620-30) on the mingling of reality and fantasy in his art.

It is impossible to look at certain details of this picture without being convinced that they come from a real and intimate communion with nature. The man and woman walking along a path toward the town, for instance, are so vividly and sympathetically observed (Fig. 20) that they must certainly be the record of some tranquil afternoon in the artist's own experience, when walking in the country his eye dwelt with pleasure on the sight of just such a couple plodding along a road in the evening light. So is the glimpse of the smooth, silver stream running between green banks at the right (Fig. 21) with the level rays of the sun lighting the hillside above and shining through the darkening branches of the trees. These speak with the voice of nature. But in the composition as a whole, how strangely these details are transformed by Seghers' mysterious and lyrical imagination! The spectator seems to stand in a rather dark, waste place, looking out upon the serene and light-filled prospect. The two brigand-like figures who rise with dramatic suddenness from behind a hillock in the foreground, are a masterstroke to create the element of surprise and tension in the mind which is of the essence of romantic art. For by virtue of these two figures the whole composition becomes instantaneous, an action suspended in mid point. It is no longer a landscape but a situation, capable of change and therefore charged with excitement. But beyond the dark foreground the landscape becomes an astonishing lyric poem of praise of light. No photograph can convey its cool white radiance. But hung upon a wall with works of even the greatest landscapists, it stands out by its dramatic flood of light. Seghers thus attacked the same two problems as the figure painters—how to create an intense psychic life within his picture, and how to reshape the language of painting in terms of light. To these problems he found his own special solution, determined by his own strange traits, his experi-

mental nature (in hardly more than two of his works is the same brush stroke or technical attack to be found) and his interest in landscape. The two details illustrated here, in spite of their reality, are characteristic of the haunting and dreamlike character of his world and would by themselves proclaim his greatness. It is something to have discovered that nature had such experiences as these to offer the perceptive mind.

The *River Landscape* by Seghers in Detroit (Fig. 22) seems to me to bring all the tendencies of his art to a more advanced technical solution than is to be found in any other of his works. It is a blend of the ideal and the real landscape which seems to gather within itself all the development between Old Bruegel and Jacob Ruisdael. Again the spectator seems to stand in a dark, wild place, a defile among savage rocks, looking out upon a world bathed in tender, tranquil light. In the middle ground a village lies asleep among the trees. The scene seems to be based upon the valley of the Meuse around Dinant and Namur, but it is translated to the plane of lyric feeling. The full river flows peacefully by, the level evening light shines upon roofs and tree-tops, but the tranquil sky glows yellow in the west and deep shadows well up among the trees and rocks. Seghers has made the foreground (which in mood and technique foreshadows Ruisdael) a romantic poem of the peace of a secluded village gathered about its noble church spire. He is expressing the mood of the opening lines of *Tintern Abbey*, a masterpiece of English romantic poetry which (in spite of the modern prejudice against comparing one art with another) is great enough to be a standard and measure of romantic sensibility and of the romantic artists' perception of profound spiritual meaning in nature.

Once again

Do I behold these steep and lofty cliffs,
That on a wild secluded scene impress
Thoughts of more deep seclusion; and connect
The landscape with the quiet of the sky.
The day is come when I again repose
Here, under this dark sycamore, and view
These plots of cottage-ground, these orchard-tufts . . .
'Mid groves and copses. Once again I see
These hedgerows, hardly hedgerows, little lines
Of sportive wood run wild: these pastoral farms,



Fig. 20. HERCULES SEGHERS, *Romantic Landscape (detail)*. Almelo, H. E. Ten Cate



Fig. 21. HERCULES SEGHERS, *Romantic Landscape (detail)*. Almelo, H. E. Ten Cate

Green to the very door; and wreaths of smoke
Sent up, in silence, from among the trees!

But beyond the village rises a panorama of wild peaks and a great river rolling off between hills until it vanishes into the sunset, that has the power of a panorama by Pieter Bruegel to suggest the illimitable, vast wonder of the world. Over all this floats the level light of the sun like something palpable. It is a magnificent expression of that worship of nature which Wordsworth expressed as

that serene and blessed mood
In which the affections gently lead us on,—
Until, the breath of this corporeal frame
And even the motion of our human blood
Almost suspended, we are laid asleep
In body, and become a living soul:
While with an eye made quiet by the power
Of harmony, and the deep power of joy,
We see into the life of things.

In this picture, which may well be Seghers' last, his extraordinarily inventive technique is developed to the utmost point reached by him in the creation of form through light and shadow. The staccato dots and nervous, hurrying outline touches of light, which make the forms of solid things seem to vibrate in the flood of light, are an essential part of the intense psychic life which fills this canvas and makes it a masterpiece of sustained lyrical art.

This mood of excitement, rising at times to rhapsody, at times to the fantastic and weird, is what we have been endeavoring to follow as the central theme of a period of Dutch art. We have seen it appear about 1600 in the satiric bitterness of Vinckboons and the landscape reveries of Gillis van Coninxloo as a revolt against a cold and mannered style based upon classical sculpture. At first it existed as a new sensibility within old technical forms, transforming mannerism in content but only partially in style. About 1615-16 it came to a focus in Haarlem and burst through the forms of mannerism to find a new technique of light and color dramatic enough to express the vivid animation and poetry of life which it discerned in its subjects. But this mood did not last long. It faded in the thirties and was replaced by the serene and genial realism of the middle years of Dutch painting. In this

respect the seventeenth century follows a course parallel to that of the nineteenth, which began with a romantic revolt against a cold and sculpturesque mannerism, toward passion, spontaneity and reality; and after it achieved its aims in a new painterlike style, gave way to a more tranquil objective realism. Dutch realism, too, it might be added, closed in a magnificent, architectonic style which raised its realistic subjects to the same heights of majestic order as is to be found in the work of the great Post-Impressionists.

The question remains to be asked, how far this movement affected such great figures as Hals and Rembrandt, who tower above the fragmentary and incomplete expression achieved by the lesser men. It is characteristic of a period of novelties that, after the first onset of new ideas, there is a certain falling off. Artists wander off from the direct line they have begun, and only those fortunate to live long enough to reach the later period of synthesis and full realization, seem to arrive at a complete and positive life-expression. This is true in the nineteenth century with Delacroix in contrast to Géricault, with Constable in contrast to Crome.

Frans Hals, according to my understanding of the period, initiated the full romantic movement with his new understanding of the individuality and inner life of the human being and by his new realistic painterlike technique, in his *Banquet of the Officers of the St. Joris-doelen* of 1616. His understanding of that dramatic glow of life increased thereafter until it came to a climax in the glorious, triumphant *Officers of the Cluveniers-doelen* and *Officers of the St. Joris-doelen* of 1627, which are surely among the most radiant and exhilarating creations of art. But with the thirties a calmer and, eventually, more monumental character becomes discernible in his work. His palette became simpler, his color cooler, his composition quieter, until in the *Regents of the St. Elisabeths-Gasthuis* of 1641 there is no less life than before, but life is presented with quite a different tone. The same difference in tone is discernible in his single figures, if one compares the spontaneity, gayety and pride of life which make the portraits of the twenties so radiant, with the no less observant but more restrained and formal portraits of the forties. This change in the mood of Hals' work was first carefully studied by Dr. Valentiner in the introduction to the Hals volume of the *Klassiker der Kunst* and needs no further discussion

here. But it is interesting that it fits perfectly into the outlines of the larger development I have been trying to trace.

Of Rembrandt it is difficult to speak, for he is such a complex personality that one hesitates to touch the problem of his profound spirit in so rapid a survey. Yet it seems to me that he also is a keypoint of our discussion. For if his art took on (as I believe it did) in his Leyden years of 1628-31 the tone of romantic feeling then at its height in Dutch art¹⁸, and retained it throughout all his later development, it would explain why his art always seems in some way an anomaly among the productions of the later realistic and architectonic periods of Dutch taste. Certainly when Rembrandt took over in the late twenties the chiaroscuro of the Italian baroque, he turned what had been a cold and external trick in the art of Honthorst, into a method of bringing out the mysterious and incalculable shadows of the inner life of man. The dramatic, brooding pictures of the Leyden period, like the solemn *Self-Portrait* in the Gardner Museum or the passionate *Old Man* in the Stevens collection (on loan in the Detroit Institute of Arts) are in the mysterious and romantic spirit which was then at its height; just as his genre studies, like the etching of the *Ratcatcher* (1632), are in the spirit of romantic realism.

If, after going to Amsterdam in 1631, Rembrandt took on something of the calm realism of Thomas de Keyser, his art nevertheless remained in its deeper aspect a song of the human soul, growing ever more sad and mysterious, while the rest of Dutch art developed into the impersonal interest in light and space and color which dominated the age of Vermeer. That song rose to one great confident climax. But the magnificent confusion and splendor gleaming out of the night, the hurly-burly of heroic strength and excited courage, which was his conception of the *Night Watch* was out of sympathy with the calm and ordered realism of the 1640's, as his haunting *Polish Rider* and awe-inspiring *Self-Portrait* of the Frick collection were out of sympathy with the abstract, architectonic art of Vermeer, de Witte and Pieter de Hooch. The solitude of Rembrandt's art is the prolongation of a romantic imaginative quality into a world first of objective and then of abstract tastes. The varying response to Rembrandt's art (while Dutch painting in the seventeenth century passed through its cycle of formal idealistic art, romanticism, objective realism and architectonic realism) is evidence that the differences between those periods, if less vocal than

in the nineteenth century, were clearly felt both by artists and by those who looked at art.

¹ W. Martin, *Frans Hals en zijn Tijd*, 1935, p. 228.

² See Fritz Lugt in *Oud-Holland*, LIII (1933), pp. 97-135, on the masterpieces of Italian art in The Netherlands during the seventeenth century.

³ I am not here attempting to achieve a new and personal critical vocabulary, but simply to use the commonly accepted terms exactly. The English vocabulary of criticism is so vague that it is necessary to explain just what one means by such words as "classic" or "romantic". I use the term romanticism as the opposite of classicism, and idealism as the opposite of realism.

⁴ L. Burchard, *Die holländischen Radierer vor Rembrandt*, 1917, p. 39ff.

⁵ Cf. Elizabeth Valentiner, *Carel van Mander als Maler*, 1930, p. 63ff.

⁶ Carel van Mander (Van de Wall's translation) p. 306.

⁷ N. de Roever in *Oud-Holland* Vol. III (1885), p. 46.

⁸ Vol. I (1938), 186-87.

⁹ The city gave a present of four pictures: a Poelenburch, a Shepherd and Shepherdess by Moreelse, and a Savery. Cf. C. H. de Jonghe, *Paulus Moreelse*, 1938, p. 146.

¹⁰ J. G. van Gelder, *Jan van de Velde*, 1933, p. 27-31, one of the most interesting and valuable recent studies of the period.

¹¹ J. G. van Gelder, op. cit.

¹² Heinrich Wölfflin, *Principles of Art History*, 1932.

¹³ Burchard, op. cit.

¹⁴ The complicated question of the interrelation of these two artists need not concern us here beyond a consideration of its results.

¹⁵ See especially J. G. van Gelder in *Oud-Holland*, XLVIII, (1931), 49-72.

¹⁶ W. R. Valentiner, *Handzeichnungen des holländischen genremaler*, 1909.

¹⁷ *Oud-Holland* XLIV (1927), 49-63; also Bode, *Rep. für Kunstwissenschaft*, XLVII (1926), 258. See also Kurt Pfister's discussion of him as an expressionist, comparing him with German expressionism of the 1920's, in his book *Herkule Seghers*, 1921, and W. Fraenger's discussion of his strange psychology.

¹⁸ Dr. Benesch's penetrating analysis of Rembrandt's attitude toward his models in the article in this same issue offers evidence upon this from a different point of view. The adjective "romantic" has frequently been used in writings upon Rembrandt in an unsystematic way and Wilenski has enlarged upon the romantic quality of Rembrandt in two eccentric but stimulating books. I believe, however, that the romantic quality of Rembrandt's art is more than an individual phenomenon. It is the coloring absorbed by Rembrandt's mind from the character of the most advanced Dutch art during his formative years and should be regarded as linking him with a whole phase of art.



Fig. 22. HERCULES SEGHERS, River Landscape. The Detroit Institute of Arts



Fig. 1. JACOB VAN HULSDONCK, *Bowl of Fruit*
Detroit, Mrs. Lillian Henkel Haass



Fig. 2. RAPHAELLE PEALE, *Still Life with Peaches*
The Brooklyn Museum

THE PEALES AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF AMERICAN STILL LIFE

By JOHN I. H. BAUR

"RAPHAEL," as Dunlap remarked, dismissing the eldest son of Charles Willson Peale with a pair of sentences, "was a painter of portraits in oil and miniature, but excelled more in compositions of still life. He may perhaps be considered the first in point of time who adopted this branch of painting in America, and many of his pictures are in the collections of men of taste and highly esteemed."¹

Dunlap, in spite of his importance as our earliest art historian, was obviously guessing when he placed Raphaele (as the artist preferred to spell it) at the fountain head of American still life painting. There are indications that the still life, painted for its own sake, was practised at least occasionally by numerous American artists of the 18th century, although much remains to be done in digging out the history of its early beginnings. Dunlap's surmise, however, was understandable, for Raphaele and his uncle, James Peale, seem to have been the first American painters of any importance to have specialized in this field, and their work, which shows many close similarities and, in fact, is hard to separate at times, had a profound influence on the development of this type of art up to at least the middle of the 19th century.

The careers of James and Raphaele are already well known, at least in outline. The former was born at Chestertown, Maryland, in 1749, and was originally apprenticed to the saddler's trade. He studied painting with his brother, Charles Willson Peale, when the latter returned from Europe and like his brother fought in the Revolution. After the war he made his home in Philadelphia except for a short sojourn in the South. His painting career dated from the 1770's to his death in 1831.

Raphaele was born at Annapolis in 1774, and was taken by his family to Philadelphia where he studied painting with his father. From 1796 to 1799, he was in Baltimore with his brother, Rembrandt, attempting to start a portrait gallery of distinguished persons. By the latter date he had moved back to Philadelphia where he advertised himself as a miniature painter, and Philadelphia remained his home for the rest of his life, although he made occasional trips to other cities. In 1803 he is known to have been in Norfolk and in 1804 he made an extensive

trip through the South with Rembrandt. About 1815 his health began to fail and it was perhaps for this reason, as most of the biographical accounts hold, that he turned from miniature painting to still life. He died in March, 1825.

Some further light on Raphaele's life, though not of much importance, can be gleaned from letters preserved in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. For one thing he was married and had at least one child, a son, Edmond. The cause of his failing health may also be surmised from a letter which he wrote on July 8, 1823. It ends with the paragraph, "It is with the greatest exertion that I write having been confined for twenty-one days with gout in my hands—which I hope will be a sufficient apology for this scrawl." It was also, without doubt, a sufficient reason for giving up miniature painting, particularly since it appears that Raphaele had little success in this branch of art, or indeed in any other.

On the latter point, a series of letters from Charles Willson Peale to his various children, copies of which are in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, speak for themselves. The following extracts, referring to Raphaele, reveal him as something of a problem, certainly as the cause of considerable anxiety to his father.

July 22, 1821—to Raphaele: "Your letter to Elizabeth spoke of your returning so far to health as to enable you to resume your pencil. . . . This last trip to Maryland I am apprehensive has been unfortunate."

Aug. 10, 1822—to Rembrandt: "Raphaele is diligent at [his] pieces of still-life. . . . I am obliged to find him market money."

Jan. 19, 1823—to . . . (recipient not given): ". . . poor Raphaele with every exertion he cannot get a support."

Mar. 5, 1823—to Rubens Peale: "Raphaele has no work at present."

Mar. 10, 1823—to Rembrandt: "Enquire if Harrison engraver is in N. Y. if so try to get from him \$51 which he owes Raphaele for painting Hagan's portrait."

Apr. 5, 1823—to Rubens: "Raphaele desires me to ask you if you wish him to paint the Mayer picture—perhaps, he says, you would like old Mr. Chas. Thompson."

Aug. 5, 1823—to Rubens: "Raphaele's difficulties are encreasing on him."

Nov. 23, 1823—to Rubens: "Raphaele has his baggage on board a schooner bound for Charleston . . . he has one or two pictures engaged there . . . intends to be very industrious and prudent." The letter goes on to mention at some length Raphaele's financial difficulties and the fact that "Patty", presumably his wife, has been forced to take boarders. It ends with the pessimistic conclusion, "His natural disposition is affectionate and she had power to win him to noble actions had she willed it."

The most striking feature in the still lifes of both James and Raphaele is their stylistic similarity to Dutch 17th century painting. American art of the 18th and early 19th centuries was so predominantly English

in inspiration that it is unusual to find the art of another era and another country simulated with few changes in American models. As an almost random example, compare the *Bowl of Fruit* (Fig. 1) by Jacob van Hulsdonck with the *Still Life with Peaches* (Fig. 2) in the Brooklyn Museum. In both, the fruit mixed with leaves overflows its container and is scattered about with studied carelessness. The edge of the table forms a conventional dark band across the bottom and in both cases bears the artist's signature. The general illumination is dark with strong highlights creating a pronounced modeling of form. The setting is a table against a bare wall, which is given variety by the subtle shading from light to dark, more obviously realized in the American picture. This is, of course, reminiscent of the naturalistic lighting in Dutch interiors, but is used by van Hulsdonck and even more so by the Peales as a purely arbitrary device, a convention which the latter repeated with little variation in all their still lifes.

Since neither James nor Raphaele went abroad, it seems likely that their inspiration was derived either from Dutch paintings in this country or from a previous native still life tradition of the 18th century, or possibly both.

Dutch art arrived in this country at an early date with the first Dutch settlers and seems to have been imported and sold to some extent throughout the 18th century. Esther Singleton has unearthed considerable data on this question² and cites numerous early inventories and advertisements such as that of James Rivington in Hanover Square offering in 1760, "Pictures of various sorts . . . Birds, Hunting Pieces, etc.," or that of a sale in 1771 including, "A large kitchen with dead game, Snyders" and "a fruit piece with a Mackaw, Vander Moulen."

This, of course, was New York, but there is also ample evidence that many of these pictures found their way to Philadelphia and had presumably been seen by the Peales. The city was in many ways more important than New York during the last half of the 18th century. It was perhaps the chief port of immigration, and many Dutchmen were settled there or in nearby towns. It counted among its citizens a number of wealthy and cultured men with extensive art collections, probably the first such, in the modern sense, in this country. Governor Hamilton's collection, for instance, is known to have had a great influence on the young Benjamin West, and that of Chief Justice William Allen was

also well known and had been seen by many artists including Copley in the 70's. The exact contents of these collections is unknown, but they consisted chiefly of European paintings or copies, and Dutch art was probably well represented.

More precise evidence, however, can be found in a letter from a Swiss collector named du Simitière, who had settled in this country, addressed to Governor Clinton of Philadelphia. It is dated 1779 and offers for sale a group of Dutch paintings, "... pictures chiefly painted in oyl, on boards in black ebony frames highly polished, of these kinds the Dutch settlers brought a great many with their other furniture ... I pikt them up in New York, in garrets, where they had been confined as unfashionable when that city was modernized."³ This collection was opened to the public in Philadelphia in 1782 and was probably dispersed after du Simitière's death in 1784.

Though somewhat late to be of much significance, there is also evidence that the Peales had a direct contact with Dutch art about 1803. Returning from Europe in that year Rembrandt Peale writes in his autobiography that shortly thereafter, "A Holland merchant, Mr. Lichleightner arrived with a choice little collection of pictures for sale. I purchased some of him and we became intimate. He offered to build a gallery, send me pictures to keep it always full and to share with him equally in the profits."⁴ The plan was not carried out, and there is no list of Mr. Lichleightner's pictures, but presumably at least some were Dutch.

Assuming then that Dutch sources were amply available, the question remains what native traditions, if any, lie behind the still lifes of the Peales. The general assumption has been that in the 18th century this type of painting was virtually non-existent, and that it came into vogue after 1800, particularly in the form of velvet painting, which flourished as a polite accomplishment for young ladies from about 1815 to about 1840. The earliest dated velvet which Louise Karr has found in her study of the subject⁵ is a mourning piece of 1808; the earliest still life a flower subject of 1812. In the field of oil painting, too, I know of no still life that can be safely placed before 1800, and the dated examples by James and Raphaelle reproduced here are, like most of their other dated works, from the 1820's.

The earliest example by either, which I have encountered, is the

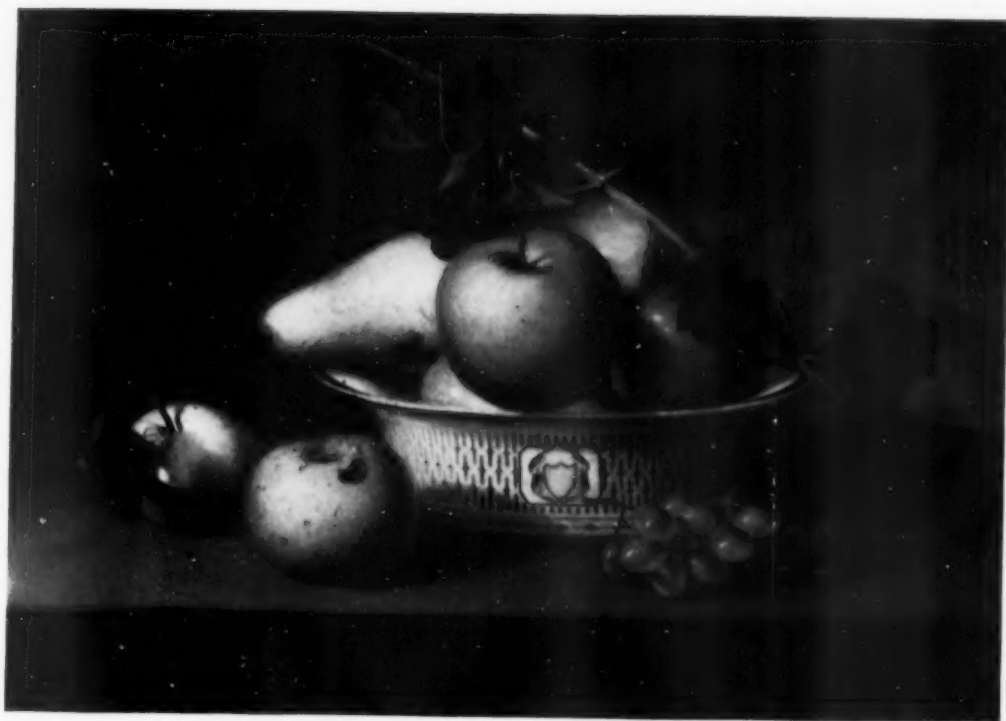


Fig. 3. JAMES PEALE, *Fruits of Autumn*
Whitney Museum of American Art



Fig. 4. RAPHAELLE PEALE, *Still Life with Cake*
The Brooklyn Museum



Fig. 5. JAMES PEALE, *Still Life: Fruit in Dish*
New York art market



Fig. 6. JAMES PEALE, *Still Life*
Worcester Art Museum

Still Life from the Hopkinson collection, now hanging in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. It is inscribed, "Raphaelle Peale Feby. 22 1815 Philadelphia". The Whitney Museum of American Art owns a signed Raphaelle Peale, the date on which was once read as "1805". The last two figures are almost totally illegible, however, and cannot be made out with any certainty even by the aid of infra-red photographs or x-rays.

Literary sources indicate, however, that both of the Peales, as well as numerous contemporaries painted still lifes considerably earlier than 1815. Raphaelle's name, for instance, occurs in connection with several such pictures in the catalogue of the second exhibition of the Pennsylvania Academy in 1812⁶, and there were some extraordinarily interesting entries in the first exhibition of the Columbianum at Philadelphia in 1795⁷. This Society was founded by Charles Willson Peale and others in the same year and although it dissolved in a squabble shortly thereafter, it was the first attempt at an Academy in this country. The exhibition, opened May 22, contained a surprisingly large sprinkling of still lifes by a variety of artists, most of them now forgotten. There was a "May rose in enamel" by William Birch, a "frame of Natural History, in imitation of a nosegay" by Miss Birch, a "Still Life" by M. Bigg, member of the Royal Academy of London, "Four fruit pieces" by Mr. Copeley (sic) of Boston" and a "Wood Duck, still life by ditto." There were fruit pieces by Gower, by "a pupil of Gower" and one by James Peale along with numerous miniatures and portraits. John Meer showed "Flowers on the back of glass" and "Five flower pieces, in imitation of enamel" while a Doctor Foulke was represented by "Ribs of Raw Beef" and "Fruit".

One of the most unusual entries is certainly the five still lifes by John Singleton Copley, if they were in reality by him. At the time of the exhibition he had been in England for twenty-one years, but no other contemporary Copley, or Copeley, of Boston is known and the pictures may have been executed before his departure and loaned from ownership in this country. If so, it places them in the pre-Revolutionary era and pushes back the beginnings of the still-life tradition to a relatively early period. Little is known of the other American exhibitors in the Columbianum show, and their work is lost in obscurity. It remains for further research to discover the character of this work and whether, like that of the Peales, it belongs to the Dutch tradition.

Regardless of source, the work of the Peales is remarkably alike and seems to have exerted a considerable influence on subsequent still-life painting. Presumably uncle and nephew worked in fairly close contact with each other and may even have used some of the same studio properties for their still lifes. The Whitney Museum's *Fruits of Autumn* (Fig. 3), attributed, rightly I believe, to James Peale, contains a bowl strikingly similar in spite of its different proportions to that in the Brooklyn Museum's *Still Life with Peaches*. The two pictures are also very close stylistically, but a careful comparison discloses marked differences in handling. Raphaelle's grapes, for instance, are more solidly modeled, the highlights are worked in and there is a gradual transition from light to shadow. The grapes of the other picture are more drily and at the same time more boldly handled. The contours are sharper, there is less range of tone and the highlights are brushed crisply on, standing out as distinctly separate touches of white.

Two of the Raphaelle Peales illustrated here are signed with his full name and dated, the *Still Life with Peaches* "Sept. 14, 1821" (Fig. 2), the *Still Life with Cake* "Jan. 1, 1822" (Fig. 4). They are both on wood panels, the former 13¼ in. by 19¼ in., the latter 9½ in. by 11⅜ in.

In addition to the signatures, which seem perfectly genuine, the history of the larger picture can be reconstructed quite fully from an inscription in pen and ink on paper which was found attached to the back of the panel. Although difficult to decipher in parts, the following is probably the correct reading: "Painted by Raphaelle Peale in 1821. Given to Edward by father and I after Mother's death although they were all left to me". It is signed "M. J. Peale", probably Mary Jane, daughter of Rubens Peale and niece of Raphaelle. The "Edward" mentioned was almost surely Edward Burd Peale, her younger brother, and it was from a direct descendant of this branch of the family that the Brooklyn Museum purchased the painting in 1926.⁸

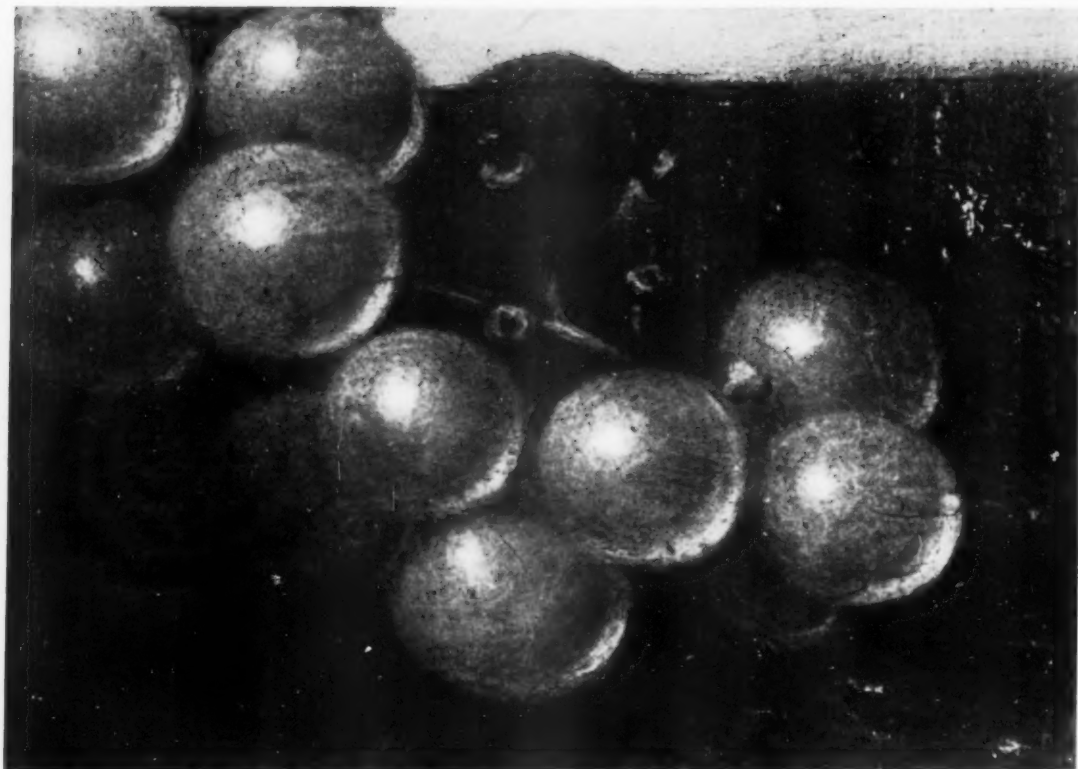
As for the paintings by James Peale, the Whitney Museum's picture belongs to an interesting group of three, all of which are very similar. The other two are the *Still Life: Fruit in Dish* (Fig. 5) shown recently at the Walker Gallery⁹ and the *Still Life* (Fig. 6) in the Worcester Museum¹⁰. The latter is the only one signed and bears the date 1825. The chief interest of this group is its close similarity to the work of Raphaelle. One might almost say that these pictures are closer in feeling



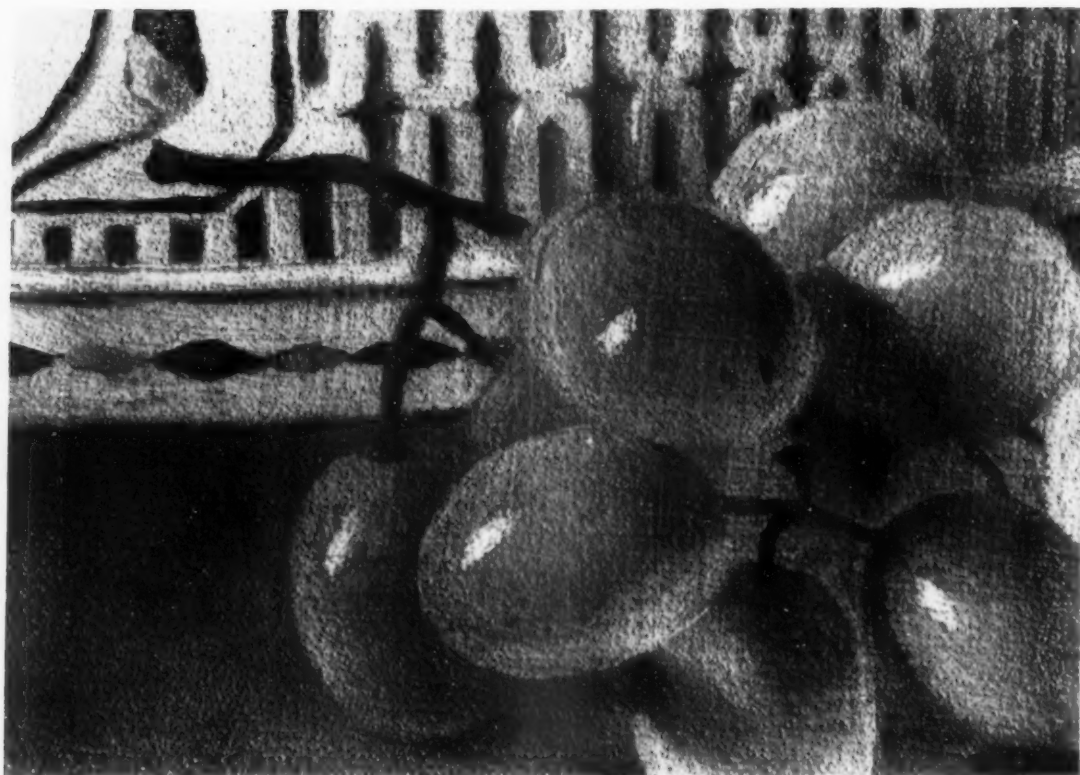
Fig. 7. UNKNOWN ARTIST, *Still Life (on velvet)*
Miss Catherine McAuliffe



Fig. 8. RAPHAELLE PEALE, *Still Life*
The Detroit Institute of Arts



*Fig. 9. PHOTOMACROGRAPH, Detail of Grapes from Fig. 2
Courtesy of The Brooklyn Museum*



*Fig. 10. PHOTOMACROGRAPH, Detail of Grapes from Fig. 3
Courtesy of The Whitney Museum of American Art*

to the work of the younger man than they are to James' usual style in his other still lifes. They show a rich chiaroscuro, a subdued color and relatively simple compositions in contrast to his more characteristic high key and rather elaborately baroque arrangements¹¹.

It is difficult to explain, with the present evidence, this divergence in James' work. It is quite possible that he was directly influenced by his nephew in certain pictures, but it is equally possible that his more subdued paintings represent an earlier style, developed well before Raphaele, and to which he returned at least partially in such late examples as the Worcester panel. Until more and securely dated early paintings by both men have been brought to light it is impossible to disentangle their relationship more clearly.

In any case it seems true that the simpler style represented by Raphaele's output and by one phase of James' work constituted the strongest influence on contemporary still life. The majority of these consisted, of course, of the fashionable velvet paintings. In this field there is definite evidence of how strongly the influence was felt. Unfortunately there is not space to reproduce the many examples which bear in spite of a crude and highly simplified execution a strong resemblance in composition to the work of the Peales. The examples may be picked almost at random from any collection of velvet paintings although of course certain ones (e. g. Fig. 2 in the article by Louise Karr, already cited) are more striking than others. An exceptional case, discovered quite fortuitously, is the *Still Life* on velvet owned by Miss Catherine McAuliffe and dated about 1830 (Fig. 7). Here the unknown artist has essayed a direct copy of the James Peale panel in the Walker Galleries' exhibition and has carried it out with archeological precision in such features as the bowl or the number of grapes hanging over the edge of the table, while "improving" on her model by replacing the rotten apple at the left with a pear as well as in other minor variations. The source of her inspiration, however, is unmistakable.

But such an example, while interesting, is not of over-great importance. More significant is the testimony that all of these velvet paintings bear to the first extensive popularity of still-life painting in America, a popularity that constituted in the first four decades of the last century a well defined if minor movement in our native painting and one which the Peales, whatever their antecedents, did much to bring to maturity.

- ¹ William Dunlap, *A History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States*, Edited by Frank W. Bayley and Charles E. Goodspeed, Boston, 1918. Vol. II, p. 181.
- ² Esther Singleton, *Social New York under the Georges*, New York, 1902, p. 89 ff.
- ³ *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 13, p. 346.
- ⁴ C. Edwards Lester, *The Artists of America*, New York, 1846, p. 207.
- ⁵ Louise Karr, *Paintings on Velvet, Antiques*, Sept., 1931, p. 162 ff.
- ⁶ *Catalogue of the Second Annual Exhibition of the Society of Artists of the United States and the Pennsylvania Academy*, Philadelphia, 1812, Nos. 11, 16, 18.
- ⁷ *The Exhibition of the Columbianum or American Academy of Painting, Sculpture, Architecture, Etc. Established at Philadelphia, 1795*, Philadelphia, 1795. A copy of this catalogue, which is difficult to find, is in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
- ⁸ *A Still Life with Glass, Plate, Biscuit, and Fruit* by Raphaelle Peale, on wooden panel, 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. by 13 $\frac{5}{8}$ in., signed and dated, "Raphaelle Peale Pinxt. A. D. 1818", has recently been acquired by the Detroit Institute of Arts as a gift of the Detroit Museum of Art Founders Society from the Laura H. Murphy Fund (Accession Number: 39.7). It is here reproduced for the first time (Fig. 8). EDITOR.
- ⁹ *James Peale and his Family*, Cat. No. 4. Walker Galleries, New York, Feb. 13-March 11, 1939.
- ¹⁰ *Worcester Art Museum News Bulletin and Calendar*, Vol. IV, No. 7.
- ¹¹ As in such other pictures as *Still Life: Grapes in Basket*, *Still Life: Vegetables with Yellow Blossoms* and *Still Life: Balsam Apple with other Fruits and Vegetables* in the exhibition at the Walker Galleries.

NEW LIGHT ON MIDDLE CHOU BRONZES

By J. LEROY DAVIDSON

MIDDLE Chou, a period of 350 years extending from 950 to 600 B. C., has been regarded as an era of decadence intermediate between the great period of Early Chou and the resplendent epoch of Late Chou. During Middle Chou, ritual bronzes, which were the most important artistic manifestation of the early period of China, developed a utilitarian shape and appearance. Technique became less refined and decoration more conventionalized. Because of these developments the bronze work of Middle Chou has been considered inferior to the earlier and the later manifestations of this art.

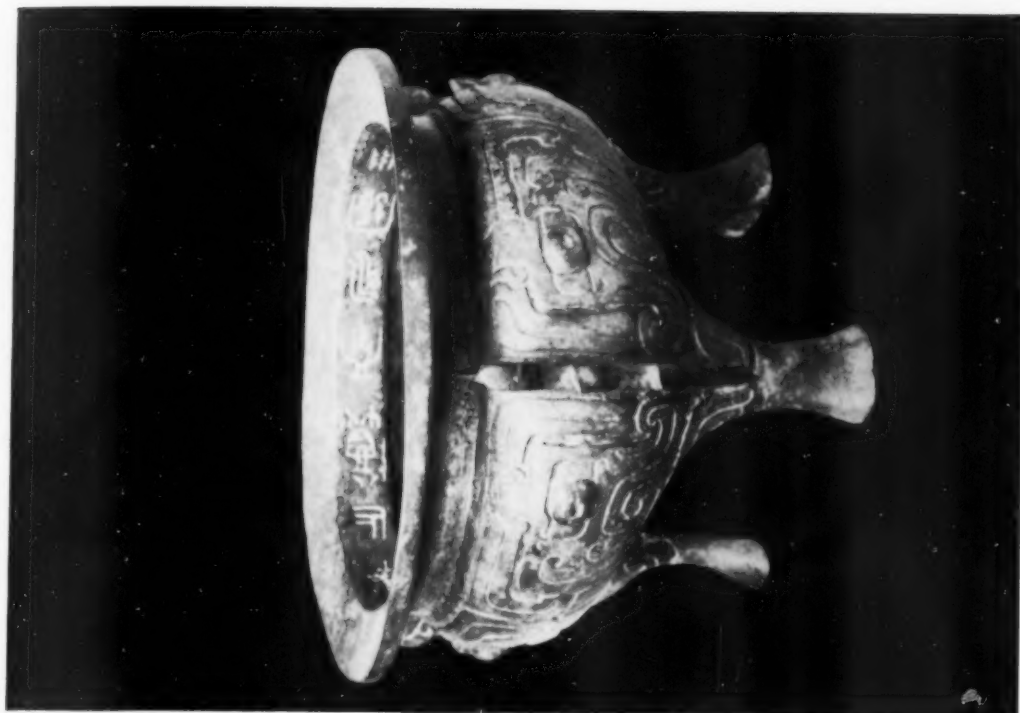
In general, there has been a disregard for the restrained, rugged power which is the individual expression of Middle Chou. The failure to recognize and to appreciate the character of Middle Chou art is partially in that some of the finest bronzes of Middle Chou have not been recognized as belonging to this period and, consequently, having been misdated, are assigned to other periods. There are no scientific excavations to use as a convenient yardstick for the dating of Middle Chou bronzes as there are for Shang (Anyang), for Early Chou (Hsün Hsien), for Late Chou (Hsin Cheng and Shou Hsien). The art of the period from the eleventh to the sixth century B. C. (i.e. from Hsün Hsien to Hsin Cheng) is identified only by several inscribed bronzes and those stylistically related to them. As a result, the representation of Middle Chou art has been confined to a few dated bronzes and their uninscribed stylistic parallels. The Middle Chou group, however, can be amplified through closer stylistic and iconographic analyses. The results of such analyses prove that Middle Chou, instead of being a period of decadence, was a period of a new aesthetic induced by a change of taste, rather than by a decline in creative power.

Several elements of the Middle Chou style have already been clearly identified by Bernhard Karlgren². Most important among the motifs which first appear in Middle Chou are the scale band, animal band and horizontal grooves. The present writer has distinguished the convoluted animal style and traced its development from Early Chou zoomorphic forms, which became more abstract under the domination of

flattening surface planes³. The most important problem to solve now is whether other types of bronzes were produced during Middle Chou. Were there also archaistic imitations of earlier styles or were there new types still unknown to us? Did the style of Early Chou linger into Middle Chou? These questions have remained unanswered up to the present time. Until recently no bronzes with Early Chou characteristics could be assigned definitely to the later period. This lacuna is now happily bridged by the evidence embodied in a *li* tripod formerly in the New York art market (Fig. 1).

At first glance this bronze appears to be typical of Shang or Early Chou. On each of the bulbous legs appears a disintegrated *t'ao-t'ieh* mask flanked by vertical dragons in a background comprised of a spiral filling. Closer inspection, however, reveals variations between this and the typical vessel of earlier periods. The spiral filling is coarser; it appears as a raised thread against the background, whereas in the early bronzes there is almost equal emphasis between the relief of the spirals and the negative depth. Details of the *t'ao-t'ieh* masks, which are constructed with loosely curving lines and hooks, are further evidences of a different date.

The elements which are found on the tripod discussed above are present in a more developed form in two other bronzes: a *li* in the collection of the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City (Fig. 2), and a *chui* or *kuei* in the collection of Mrs. William H. Moore, New York (Fig. 3). On both of these vessels there are inscriptions of the Middle Chou period and on both the *t'ao-t'ieh* masks are already transformed into a distinctive pattern in which the dominant lines appear to strive toward the shape of an elongated "S". This stylistic change, although slight, is important, for the *li* tripod (Fig. 1) is intermediate in style between these two bronzes and those of the Early Chou period. Its loose curves culminate in the more abstract patterns on these bronzes. The reclining buffalo in the collection of Alfred F. Pillsbury, Minneapolis (Fig. 4), generally accepted as Middle Chou, has the same characteristics. Traces of the spiral filling remain as threads, and zoomorphic motives are completely reduced to abstract patterns composed of loose hooks tending to become "S" shaped. The suggestion of a Middle Chou date for the New York tripod is confirmed by an inscription on the vessel which reads:



*Fig. 2. BRONZE LI, Kansas City,
William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art*



Fig. 1. BRONZE LI, Formerly New York art market



Fig. 3. BRONZE KUEI, New York, Mrs. William H. Moore



Fig. 4. BRONZE BUFFALO, Minneapolis, Alfred F. Pillsbury

穆	MU	望	PROSPERITY	歷	SUCCESSIVE
公	KUNG	穆	MU	陽	TO GLORIFY
侯	MADE	公	KUNG	王	KING
尹	YUN	望	WISDOM	上	BEST
姑	CHI	望	BENEFICIAL	品	QUALITY
宗	ANCESTRAL	明	SHONE	馬	HORSE
室	CLAN	明	CHAO	錢	ANCIENT MONEY 20 TAEIS
於	IN	庚	KANG	拜	WORSHIP
密	CHI	之	PREVIOUS	稽	BOW OR PROSTERATE
林	LIN	王	KING	首	HEAD
惟	TO DO	格	INFLUENCE	天	EMPEROR
六	SIXTH	于	IN	君	CHUN
月	MOON	尹	YUN	休	BLESSING
既	ALREADY	姑	CHI	用	USE
生	BRING FORTH	宗	ANCESTRAL	你	MADE
滿	FULL MOON	室	CLAN	寶	PRECIOUS
已	CHI	齊	CHI	寶	CHI
郊	MAO	林	LIN	鼎	TING
休	BLESSING	格	RITUAL		
天	EMPEROR	敬	RESPECT		
用	USE	尹	YUN		
弗	GRASS OR ABUNDANT	姑	CHI		

"Mu Kung, descendant of the Duke of Chao, made the Chi Ting in behalf of the honor of the Imperial Clan, the Yun and the Chi families. It is dedicated at the city of Chi Lin in the present northern Shantung province on the 15th day of the 6th moon in the cyclical year of Chih Mao 822 B. C., and to be used as a sacrificial vessel by the Emperor. The wisdom of Mu Kung has shone on the previous Emperors Chou Kang Wang and Chou Chao Wang, and his influence has penetrated the imperial Clan of the Yun and the Chi families. Because of the glorious success made for the Chou Kingdom by one member of the respected Yun family, Mu Kung, the senior guardian of the dynasty, donated the precious Chi Ting, which is as valuable as a horse of the best quality. Bowing low, he presented it to the Emperor for sacrificial use."

Closely allied to the Loo tripod is a *tsun* in the Freer Gallery of Art (Fig. 5). The decoration on this vessel has the details already mentioned as characteristic of Middle Chou. In addition, the nose of the *t'ao-t'ieh* is divided and the space between filled with parallel thread-like lines, hooked markings similar to those noted on the Pillsbury buffalo, and on the inscribed Middle Chou bronzes appearing scattered almost at random over the mask.

All these vessels, in common with the most typical Middle Chou bronzes, are dominated by an aesthetic essentially different from that of Shang or Early Chou. Shang bronzes are compact in form and the energy within them is latent. This energy becomes active, explosive and dynamic in Early Chou, and hooked flanges and jutting protuberances spring from the bodies of the vessels. About 1000 B. C., according to the orthodox chronology, a reversal of this trend occurs. By the beginning of the Middle Chou period, about 950 B. C., the whole aesthetic is changed. The bronzes retain monumental form, but static weight replaces the former dynamic power. This aesthetic is in turn followed by the rococo exuberance of Late Chou.

The foregoing investigation shows that in the only known instance when Shang and Early Chou motifs persisted into Middle Chou, they were transformed by the dominant aesthetic of the later period. No bronze purely Shang or Early Chou in style has yet appeared with a Middle Chou inscription. Consequently we may conclude, unless new evidence is uncovered, that the Early Chou style was not carried over into Middle Chou in an unaltered form, and that when Early Chou types appear in Middle Chou they reveal some characteristics of that period.

Innovations of the Middle Chou bronze makers have not yet been isolated or even determined to any extent. It is not the purpose of this article to examine whether the rococo style of Late Chou existed in Middle Chou, although its origins are certainly rooted in the "convoluted" style of Middle Chou, but rather to prove that many bronzes now being assigned to the Early Chou period are really creations of Middle Chou.

Most important of the bronzes that should be allocated to the Middle



Fig. 5. BRONZE TSÜN, Washington, Freer Gallery of Art



*Fig. 6. BRONZE TIGER,
New York art market*

*Fig. 7. BRONZE TIGER,
Washington, Freer Gallery of Art*



Chou period are two magnificent tigers in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C. (Fig. 7)⁵. A close examination of these two bronze sculptures exposes no evidence whatever of any Early Chou motifs. On the contrary, it reveals a multiplicity of Middle Chou motifs. The ponderous monumentality of the beasts is instantly noticeable. Although they have none of the dynamic movement of the animals of Early Chou, they possess a tense, static weight which is the impressive characteristic of Middle Chou bronze art.

These tigers express a sullen brute force that is universally arresting. The bold motifs which cover the surface of the tigers' bodies are not suggestive of the earlier period. The casting is heavy and the spiral filling has disappeared. Shang and Early Chou animals are ornamented with the same motifs which cover ritual vessels of those periods. A few examples are the elephant in the Freer Gallery, the Camondo elephant in the Louvre, the stone tiger excavated at Anyang⁶ and the numerous *kuang* which approximate animal forms. These are all covered with zoomorphic or geometric motifs which are typical of the earlier periods⁷.

However, on the Freer tigers, the motifs are similar to those on Mrs. Moore's Middle Chou *kuei*, although they have lost all former symbolic meaning. The loosely swinging lines of the *kuei* motifs are retained and a new motif introduced. This motif is an important key to the date of the tigers for it is closely related to those motifs already noted as Middle Chou. It is the elongated "S" shaped marking which appears on the body, legs, neck and tail of the animal. The center of this elongated "S" is indented on one side and slightly projected at the other, rather like the old German "S". Had this motif appeared only on the body of the tiger it might have been interpreted as a stylization of the ribs, but its appearance elsewhere negates any such facile conclusion.

This same "S" motif occurs frequently on bronzes and jades of the Middle and Late Chou periods. It appears on a small bronze appliqué, in the New York art market, a tiger on whose back is a series of typical Middle Chou "convoluted" animals (Fig. 6). Another Middle Chou feature of the tigers is the method of depicting the animals' paws. Seen in profile a claw at front and rear grasps a solid block which completely fills the space between. This motif is almost universal in the *yi* of Middle Chou where the vessel stands on four feet, each treated exactly as are the tigers' paws in this instance. Examples are numerous, but those of the

best artistry⁸, equaling that of the Freer tigers, are in the collection of Mr. and Mrs. Walter Sedgwick, London, and in a private collection in New York (Fig. 8). The paws on the earlier bronzes are rendered differently, without the blocks within the claws and with the feet placed flat on the ground⁹.

Even the faces of these two tigers are typical of Middle Chou. Earlier animal masks, which include feline types, are systematically built up of composite motifs, one for ears, standardized spirals for the nose, and two or three types of eyes (especially one with an elongated canthus). On the Freer tigers, however, the face is treated as a single unit. Although conventionalized, the nose is typical of feline anatomy and is not dependent on spiral nostrils. The eyes are cat-like and do not follow earlier conventions. The closest relationships to such treatment of animal faces in the Shang and Early Chou periods are the stone tiger from Anyang and the two *kuang* with single human figures, one in the Sumitomo collection, the other in the Cernuschi Museum. In the earlier pieces the nose is decorated with a cicada motif. The eyebrows are raised and isolated in the additive style of Shang and Early Chou, while the teeth are notched in the center as contrasted with the realistic single point on the teeth of the Freer tigers.

To supplement the negative evidence against the tiger mask type of Early Chou, it is possible to marshal a number of definite examples of Middle Chou tiger masks that are extremely close to the Freer tigers. Typical of a large group is the *tui* in the New York art market (Fig. 9). At the top of each leg is a tiger mask which has all the elements of the Freer tiger masks and is expressed with the same unity. Such masks are not rare in Middle Chou, but on the contrary appear as a most common motif. On the other hand, no parallel mask of an earlier period has yet been found. It should be noticed that the projecting tusks of the animal heads on the handles of the New York *tui* are also identical with the tusks of the Freer tigers.

Thus it is seen that the Freer tigers lack the motifs, the intricate casting and all the special aesthetic of Shang and Early Chou. On the other hand, they do have the typical casting, motifs and aesthetic of Middle Chou. Therefore they must be dated within the Middle Chou period, 950-600 B. C.

With the addition of the Freer tigers to the Middle Chou repertory,

it becomes absurd to dismiss as a period of decadence a period which produced two of the finest known bronzes, and it becomes advisable to seek out those bronzes which, by their superior quality alone, have been mistakenly assigned to other periods.

Only one object of this type can be considered here: the pole-top in the collection of Mrs. William H. Moore (Figs. 10-11). This terminal is composed of a tiger mask and a human head placed back to back. In the exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art it was called Early Chou¹⁰. The tiger mask, however, is the feline representation of Middle Chou and is closely allied to the Freer tigers. Moreover, the human head is entirely different in style from the human faces of Shang and Early Chou. Human representations are not uncommon in Shang and Early Chou and, although there seems to be more than one type, the standard representation is that of a being with thick lips and flattened nose. Such types are present in the Sumitomo and Cernuschi *kuang* as well as on a number of pole-tops. A pole-top in the Pillsbury collection, exemplifies these characteristics as well as the additive style of the early periods (Fig. 12).

The human face on the Moore pole-top is not only a complete unit in its arrangement, but the facial type itself is altogether different from the face on the Pillsbury finial. Instead of the early formula of a conventionalized nose and eye, the type is naturalistic, and even an incised mustache may be discerned. The modeling also is different, approximating that of the buffalo in the Pillsbury collection, while the tiger mask definitely points to a Middle Chou date. Thus in this bronze also it is seen that earlier parallels are lacking, while there are relationships of aesthetic, and unity of treatment typical of Middle Chou.

With these additions to the Middle Chou repertory added to the already known bronzes of Middle Chou, it becomes possible to define the aesthetic of the period. In place of the dynamic power of Early Chou, there exists a static force, heavy and compact. Delicate casting is subordinated to a broad treatment of surface, and the motifs lose their organic power and become merely surface elements. The imaginative force of Shang and Chou is lost, but it is supplanted by simplicity of form and directness of statement.

¹ There are also the Late Chou sites of Loyang, Li Yu and Chang Sha which, although not scientifically excavated, have provided huge masses of material.

² "Yin and Chou Researches," *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, Stockholm, no. 8.

³ "Supplementary Notes on Chinese Bronzes," *Parnassus*, Jan., 1938, p. 30-1.

⁴ Translation and notes by Mr. Ssu Chen Ho. Yun Chi was a loyal minister to the Emperor Chou Hsuan Wang. He was related by blood to the Imperial Family of Chou. In 823 B. C. he defeated the invading barbarians Yen Tsung and chased them out of the country to the frontier at Tai Yuan. Chao Mu Kung, descendant of Chao Kung or the duke of Chao, was a senior guardian of the Chou Kingdom. In other words, he was the guardian of Chou Hsuan Wang, 827-788 B. C.

⁵ There dated c. 1000 B. C. and called supports. Their precise function, however, is unknown.

⁶ Illustrated in *Studies in Chinese Art and Some Indian Influences*. The India Society, London, 1938, chapter IV, pl. VIII, fig. 19.

⁷ In some instances the surface is completely unadorned, e.g., the buffalo in the Fogg Museum, Cambridge.

⁸ London, Cat. No. 147.

⁹ Cf. Cernuschi vessel with human figure, and stone tiger from Anyang.

¹⁰ Cat. No. 125.



Fig. 8. BRONZE YI, New York, Private Collection



Fig. 9. BRONZE TUI, New York art market



*Fig. 10. BRONZE POLE-TOP
New York, Mrs. William H. Moore*



Fig. 11. Reverse of Figure 10

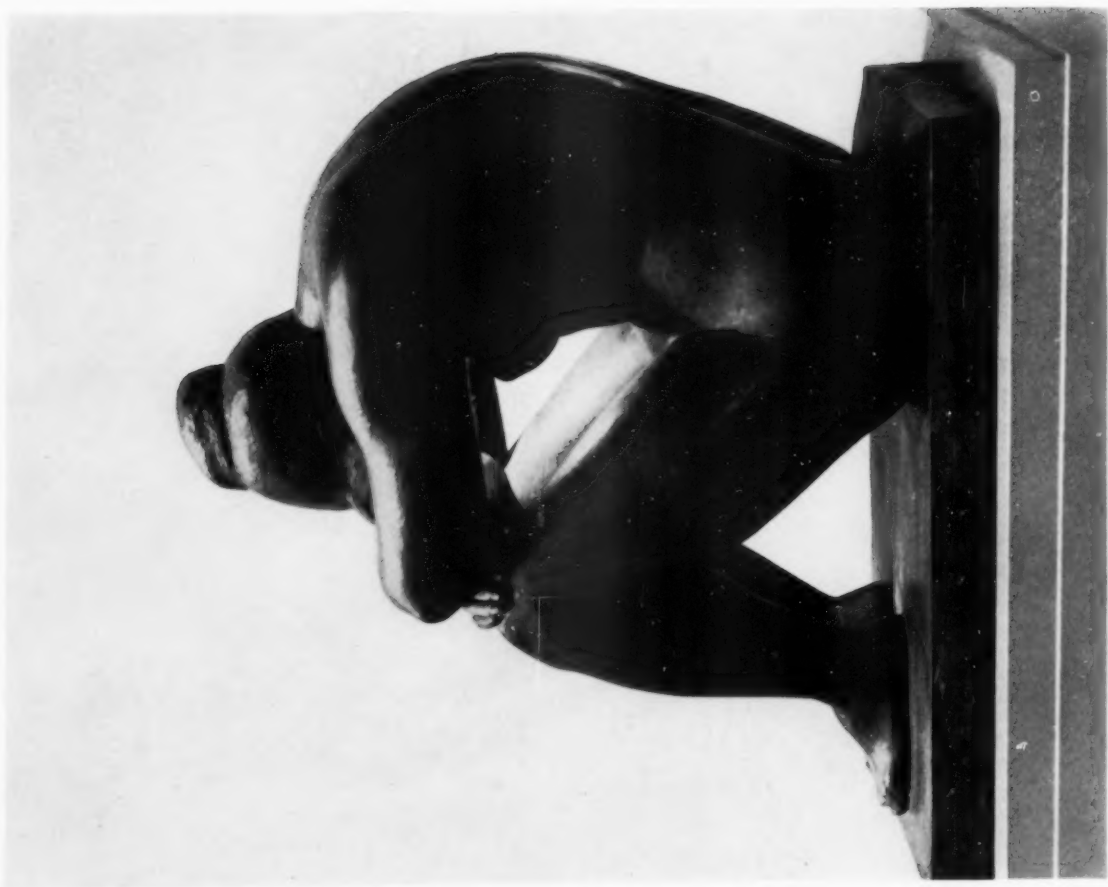


*Fig. 12. BRONZE POLE-TOP
Minneapolis, Alfred F. Pillsbury*

RECENT IMPORTANT
ACQUISITIONS
OF AMERICAN MUSEUMS



JAVANESE, Head of Buddha (life size)
Recently acquired by the Albright Art Gallery, Buffalo



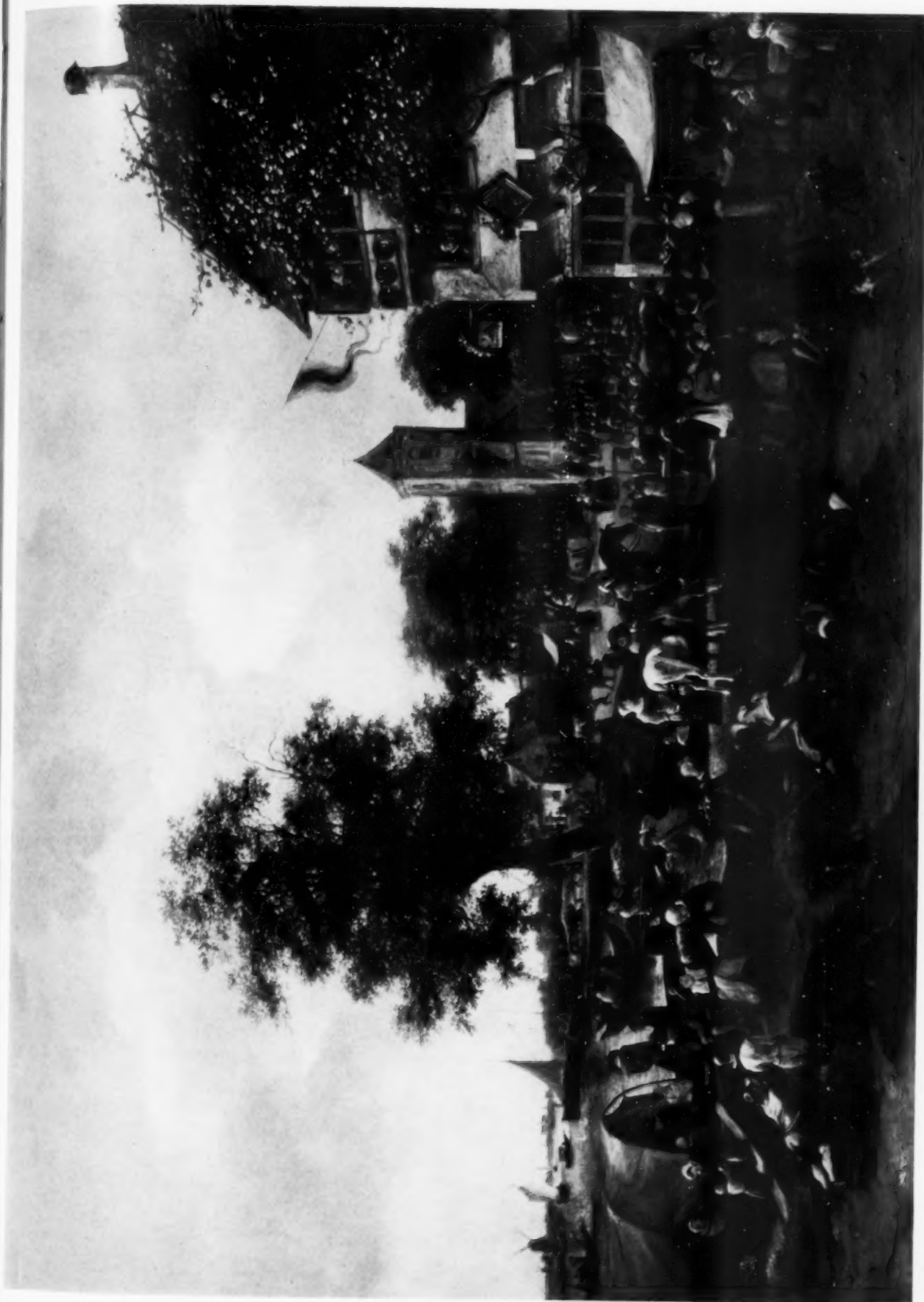
ARISTIDE MAILLOL, Night (life size)
Recently acquired by the Albright Art Gallery, Buffalo



PERIOD OF SARGON THE GREAT, *Akkadian Head* (27 1/8" high)
Recently published by the William Hayes Fogg Museum of Art, Cambridge



TINTORETTO, *The Finding of Moses* (30 1/2" x 52 3/4")
Recently acquired by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York



JAN STEEN, *The Fair at Oegstgeest* (28" x 29")
Recently acquired by The Detroit Institute of Arts



SIR ANTHONY VAN DYCK, *Queen Henrietta Maria* (33 1/2" x 41 1/2")
Recently acquired by the Fine Arts Gallery, San Diego



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REGARDING THE RECENT ACQUISITIONS

THE BUFFALO SCULPTURES

From an article by John Hagerly

Among the greatest pieces of modern sculpture to come to the United States within recent years is Maillol's *Night*, which represents the artist at the apex of his career. Cast last summer, it is the first and only casting of the larger-than-life stone figure cut more than thirty years ago, and now in the museum at Winterthur. Impressed by the eighteenth century lead garden sculpture at Versailles, Maillol had this figure, which has been considered his best, cast in the same material. He has hammered and chiselled the rough casting into its present state and it comes almost as a cutting in the round from the sculptor's hands.

The large, crouching figure of *Night*, with her dull silver highlights, is the symbol of silence and sleep expressed through the body of a patient woman of the soil. Few modern sculptors have been able to create such a feeling of nobility and serenity in a direct method so devoid of detail and exaggeration. This deep, quiet understanding, this universal intensity and stability transcends "intellectuality". A peasant stone cutter with a genius for handling his material expresses a universal emotion as old as nature itself.

The head from Borobudur, one of the few rare fragments of this famous eighth-century shrine to leave the Orient, comes either from one of the innumerable Dhyāni Buddhas that fill the niches on the four sides of the temple or from one of the seventy-two Buddhas arranged in rows at the top. All these form a great mystic and cosmic diagram.

The temple itself is the most famous monument in Java and is magnificently situated on the Kedu Plain commanding an extensive view of rice fields and volcanoes. Architecturally unlike any other monument of the period, it was built on a rounded hill which was terraced and covered with stone. The result is a truncated pyramid supporting a relatively small central stūpa surrounded by smaller, perforated stūpas in three concentric circles. Now completely restored by the Dutch Government and guarded as a national monument, there is little possibility that sculpture from this important site will appear again in the west.

Stylistically the sculpture of Candi Borobudur is derived from the best Indian Gupta work of the 4th to the 7th century. The rich reliefs decorating this building are more luxuriant than the nervously energized ones of Angkor Wat. They reflect the elegance and sophistication of the Golden Age of Indian art tempered by the lyrical nature of the locality. This thoroughly indigenous interpretation is a

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Jack at the Capstan, by George Morland

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regional transformation of Buddhist tenets into the terms of the wealthy, secure and tropically-lush Śailendra culture. Tending toward the full and contemplative rather than the ascetic and dramatic, this head is a mature expression from the Sumatran empire at the height of its glory.

THE AKKADIAN HEAD

From an article by R. F. S. Starr in *The William Hayes Fogg Art Museum Bulletin*, November, 1939

Unfortunately, the provenience of the Akkadian Head cannot be determined with absolute certainty. At the time of its purchase it was attributed vaguely to the region of the Yusuhiyah Canal, south of Baghdad. Later, however, information from well-informed disinterested locals has indicated as its find-spot the ancient site Kish, east of Babylon, and it seems likely that this attribution is correct. The material is black steatite, pitted in spots and showing a distinct greyish patina in those areas protected from wear.

In viewing the head as an artistic composition one cannot but be struck by the subtlety of the modeling of the facial contours. The fine sweep of line from cheek-bone to chin, when seen in profile, is the work of a sculptor not only familiar with the basic anatomy that governs the features of facial outline, but with a fine sensitivity to the essence of sculptural representation. The relation of the separate parts to each other is sound, and though complete realism is not achieved, the total effect is convincingly naturalistic. Yet in his naturalism the artist has escaped the lifeless effect that characterizes so much of the realism of the later sculpture of Mesopotamia. Nor is there any of the grotesque exaggeration of individual parts that is so disturbing in the Early Dynastic pieces. Actually, this piece falls between the two ages, at a time when sculptors had become dissatisfied with the ill-assorted collection of physical elements that had passed for man in Early Dynastic times, yet before the age of self-satisfied realism that had its beginning around the time of Hammurabi. In other words, the work was done in the third millennium, sometime after 2800 B.C.

Let us examine the work in greater detail to see if the period or culture of the artist can be determined more exactly. The piece is obviously far superior in technical advance to those of Early Dynastic times; and the Early Dynastic characteristics that show here are but the natural inheritance from that earlier period. One would normally compare our piece first with the sculptures of Gudea, *patesi* of the Sumerian city Lagash (modern Tello), for there is a considerable similarity between the two—the accentuation of the eyes, the greater breadth of the face in relation to its

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height, and the way in which the head rests directly on the shoulders with practically no intervening neck. Despite such likenesses, the differences are even more marked. In the Fogg head the finely incised eyebrows of the conventional Gudea rendering are lacking. Instead, they appear as plain flat ridges merging evenly with the bridge of the nose. The nose itself is broader at its base, and from the portion that remains, it seems clear that it was more prominent than those of the Gudea figures, though quite certainly never reaching the exaggerated proportions seen in many of the earlier Sumerian figures. The mouth, too, is wider in proportion to the nose, with greater emphasis on the upper lip, on the fragment left us, than the lower. The ridges forming the eyelids lack the sharp edges seen on the Gudea figures, and the precise treatment of the corners of the eyes is entirely absent. In addition to these points, the high position of the ears and their prominence is quite foreign to the works of the time of Gudea. In fact, one needs only to view the piece as a whole to be convinced of its essential difference in feeling from the works of Gudea's time. Moreover, there is about it a certain degree of primitiveness, and a rugged strength of modeling that brands it as unmistakably earlier than, and foreign to, the suave compositions of Gudea's sculptors. Consequently, we must look for its source in some period prior to 2400 B.C.

Perhaps the most distinctive feature of the Fogg Museum head is the hairdress, in which incised wavy lines radiate from the crown of the head, terminating in an even fringe of curls around the whole head. The corresponding change in the rear is not similarly centered but is well around toward the right ear. It is significant that only within one cultural province in the Near East is this type

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of hairdress and manner of rendering found with any consistency—the Dynasty of Akkad. Our closest parallel is the stele found at Susa and dated to Sargon I, founder of the great Semitic dynasty of Akkad in what is today southcentral Mesopotamia. In this monument it will be seen that the figure on the left has exactly the same hairdress as the Fogg Museum head. Even the captives show this same convention, though here the curls are omitted. Other figures on this same monument, wherever sufficient detail remains, show the same hair treatment referred to, though the fringe of curls is not always clear. Nor is the likeness limited to the hair alone. Consider the strong likeness in facial contour, the line of the receding forehead, the large straight high-bridged nose, and the firm small chin. Compare particularly the position and accentuation of the ear, and the identical manner in which the eyes and the eyebrows are rendered. There can be no doubt that the two are of one culture and contemporaneous.

The identification of the Fogg head as the work of Sargon's sculptors unfortunately does not mean that absolute dates can be assigned. Scholars are still divided on the problem of the date of Sargon, even though the length of the dynasty is known, as well as its relative position in Mesopotamian chronology. Recent scholarship has tended to bring down in time the date of Sargon, and it seems probable that 2550 B.C. is approximately correct for his ascension to power.

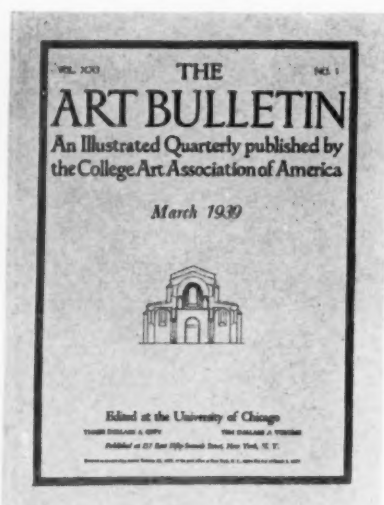
Despite our difficulty in absolute dating, the value of this piece remains unquestioned. Not only is it a masterpiece of sculptural representation—vigorous in execution and satisfying aesthetically—but it is the earliest sculpture in the round certainly identifiable as Akkadian. It should be re-

membered that Akkadian sculpture in the round is exceedingly uncommon; indeed, Akkadian sculpture of any kind is rare. One wonders whether in a sense the Fogg head may not even be the first truly Semitic sculpture in the round, for though the figures from Mari are earlier and inscribed with Semitic names, they are so Early-Dynastic Sumerian in style that one would hesitate in assigning them stylistically to any other than Sumerian or thoroughly Sumerized sculptors. Whether or not that be true, we have in the Fogg head an object of rare value—a relic of Sargon the Great, whose dynasty was destined to influence profoundly the culture of Mesopotamia throughout its subsequent history.

THE NEW YORK TINTORETTO

From an article by Harry B. Wehle in the Metropolitan Museum of Art *Bulletin*, December, 1939

The *Finding of Moses* which the Museum has recently bought is somewhat unusual among the paintings of Tintoretto, whose typical works are larger, grander, darker, and more violent. In our picture the action is set in a cheerful landscape. At the left in the distance are ladies walking and green young trees and a comfortable villa beside the river out of which the infant has been retrieved. At the right in a pleasant glade hunters are chasing a stag. The main actors in the drama, Pharaoh's daughter attended by a lady of the royal household, fully occupy the foreground. Their bodies are bent toward one another with splendid ease and amplitude like figures on a baroque pediment, while behind them two stout tree trunks give a note of satisfying verticality and strength. The lady at the left, as indicated by her jeweled crown, is the Egyptian princess. She kneels beside a willow basket, preparing it to receive the infant Moses, and her companion, seated upon a draped



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rock or hummock, seems about to offer him her breast. The colors are extraordinarily vivacious and pleasurable. Both women have blond, curly hair. Pharaoh's daughter wears a yellow dress set off by a fold of bright scarlet around the arm, her companion a crimson dress with an egg-plant mantle. Each braces herself with a boot cased in scarlet, and these bright accents serve to define the limits of the base on which the generous, arching composition is supported.

The rapid fluency of the master's brush contributes no little to one's enjoyment of the picture—the spirited indication of robes defining long limbs and elastic torsos, the sparkling rendition of foliage, the hilarious wriggle of the paint that sends the distant hunters coursing after their quarry. In his headlong creativeness Tintoretto has left incomplete the figure of the princess, though that of her companion is finished in form and enriched with glazes.

The comparatively gay spirit of the work, as seen in the landscape and minor figures and also in the elegant figures of the two ladies with their small blond heads and bright costumes, is an aspect of Tintoretto which is seldom if ever found in his thoroughly mature paintings. The six famous little pictures in the Prado illustrating stories of Old Testament heroines (including a *Finding of Moses*) are decidedly more frivolous than our painting and are presumably earlier. They in no way prophesy, as does the figure of our princess' companion, the majestic forms of Tintoretto's maturity. For the production of the *Finding of Moses* it seems most reasonable to suppose the period 1550-1555. But the danger of laying down hard and fast rules for dating the master's paintings on the basis of their comparative seriousness is apparent when we consider that the im-

pressive *Miracle of Saint Mark* (Venice Academy) was painted as early as 1548, when Tintoretto was thirty years old.

Probably the closest stylistic parallel with our *Finding of Moses* is to be found in the three paintings of scenes from Genesis—the *Creation of the Animals*, *Adam and Eve*, and *Cain and Abel* (all in the Venice Academy). The compositions in these are built up with simple figures eccentrically disposed to constitute broad rhythms. The *Adam and Eve* especially resembles our *Finding of Moses* in the diagonal position of Eve and also in the sprightly painting of her girlish head, as well as in the rendition of the landscape. Tintoretto is supposed to have painted these subjects from Genesis between 1550 and 1553 for the Scuola della Trinità, completing a series begun by Francesco Torbido.

No record has been discovered of the *Finding of Moses* earlier than the middle of the nineteenth century—unless Ridolfi in the seventeenth had our painting in mind when he reported as in the sacristy of San Sebastiano a little picture by Tintoretto representing a story of Moses (*quadro di una istoria di Mose*). In the nineteenth century the painting belonged to the English painter Richard Westall and later to another painter, George D. Leslie, in whose family it remained until 1928.

THE FAIR AT OEGSTGEEST

This painting by Jan Steen is one of the early works by the artist, painted about 1650-55, when he was about twenty years of age. Like most of the artists of the third generation in the great epoch of Dutch art in the seventeenth century, Steen developed very early. This generation had the advantage, not enjoyed by their predecessors, of the high level of art production and appreciation at mid-century. His first master was a German painter, Nicholas Knupfer, who worked at Utrecht, his second, according to Weyermann, was Adriaen van Ostade at Haarlem, the third, Jan van Goyen at The Hague. Our painting shows the influence of Isaac van Ostade, the younger brother of Adriaen and probably a fellow pupil of Jan Steen and Adriaen van Ostade, and likewise Jan van Goyen, of whom we are reminded by the treatment of the landscape background and the sky.

We find the combined influence of these two masters in some of the earliest paintings by Jan Steen. This group of his early works can be placed either through dated pictures such as the *Marriage Scene* of 1653, in the Mannheimer Collection at Amsterdam, or through documents which prove incidentally that as early as 1651 Steen was so famous that four of his paintings were exported to the Swedish, and one to the Austrian court.

The charm of these early paintings lies in the combination of a crowd of varied types amusing themselves in the

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open near an inn, with a finely observed landscape which often can be identified as a locality not far from the art native town of Leiden. In our painting the village can be recognized as Oegstgeest by the Romanesque church tower which Steen probably visited from Leiden, or from the near by Hague where he stayed from 1649 to 1654.

THE PORTRAIT OF QUEEN HENRIETTA MARIA, WIFE OF CHARLES I OF ENGLAND

The Van Dyck portrait of Queen Henrietta Maria wife of Charles I of England, which was recently acquired by The Fine Arts Gallery of San Diego, hung for centuries at the seat of the Marquess of Ailesbury, Savenake, Marlborough, Wiltshire. The portrait was mentioned in the memorandum of 1638 to 1639 as "A Queen dressed in Blue" and "A Queen dressed in blue given to the Comte d'Ollande". Van Dyck painted thirteen portraits of the Queen alone, six of the Queen with the King, and sixteen portraits of the King alone, according to Lionel Cust, the artist's pre eminent biographer. These portraits are for the most part in Royal Collections and in public galleries in England and in Europe.

The Queen is represented to the knees, seated, turned three-quarters to the left, and looking at the observer. Her right arm rests on a table at her side, and the left in her lap where she lightly holds two roses. A jewelled crown is on the table at her right. She is dressed in a blue silk gown, slashed at the sleeves, and ornamented with jewelled clasps and buttons. Around her head and throat are single strings of large pearls, with pendant pearls in her ears. Her dark hair falls in curls and ringlets to her shoulders. The picture was exhibited at the Detroit Institute of Arts in the exhibition of "Paintings by Anthony Van Dyck", in 1929.

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